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ABSTRACT

This document is a compilation of 10 papers exploring various aspects of the new and growing field of intercultural communication. The 11 authors are educators and researchers from institutions of higher education, research centers, and the Peace Corps. The papers are presented in two sections. Section I, Basic Issues in Intercultural Communications Research, contains seven papers. Titles are as follows: (1) Intercultural Communication Research: Where Do We Go From Here: (2) Outline of Intercultural Communication: (3) An Outline of Problems in Intercultural Communications Education, Training, and Research: (4) Black Communication Research: A Problem in Intercultural Communication: (5) Culture Training, Cognitive Complexity and Interpersonal Attitudes: and (6) Communication in Pluralistic Systems. Section II is titled Applications: Cross Cultural Training and the Intercultural Communications Workshop (ICW). (See SO 012 927 for a discussion of ICWs.) The three papers in this section are titled Cross Cultural Training Programs and Their Evaluation, Research Issues in Evaluating the Objectives of the ICW, and Researching the Cross-Cultural Communications Workshop. (AV)

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READINGS IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Volume III

THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK
OF THE
REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

SO 012 929

READINGS IN INTER-

CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

VOLUME III

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION

We did not expect to publish a third volume of the Readings. It appeared to us at the time Volume II was printed last year that other sources of information dissemination were in the process of being developed. One of these was the Task Force on Intercultural Communications Workshops of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA). As it turns out NAFSA has asked the Intercultural Communications Network specifically to assume some responsibilities originally expected to fall to the Task Force. Among them is the continued reproduction and distribution of relevant writings.

Another resource for the intercultural communication field was proposed by the Commission on International and Intercultural Communication of the Speech Communication Association. During the Spring and Summer of 1972, the commission explored the feasibility of establishing a new journal on the subject. After a fairly extensive survey with relatively little response the idea was shelved, at least temporarily.

In the meantime, the need for information grew and, possibly more important, theoreticians and researchers in increasing numbers began to turn their attention to intercultural communication. It seemed clear that a volume of essays on research issues, both theoretical and applied, in intercultural communication would be valuable now to practitioners, teachers and scholars -- even, or perhaps especially, one reproduced in this informal manner.

One of the basic values of the Readings is that it short circuits the lag that normally occurs between seminal thinking and formal publication. It is our experience that persons in this field are hungry for everything and anything they can obtain on the subject. Our concern therefore -- as stated in the introduction to Volume II -- is not with rigor but with relevance and usefulness. Much of what we publish is tentative and lacks polish. It offers the basis for discussion rather than answers to questions. There are, as was argued in response to the proposed journal, ample outlets for finished scholarly research in this field, but there is little to provide the worker in the intercultural vineyard with the tools he needs right now.

We are pleased with the present collection. While not definitive, (it is not meant to be) it covers much important ground and touches on many of the basic problems with which researchers in intercultural communication will have to deal in the coming few years if they are to bring order and focus to the field and provide the information needed by the practioners.

A special note to those who fund research: the time has come to take intercultural communication seriously. It is neither an exotic garnish to the traditional disciplines nor a new jargon cloaking old cliches. It is a basic human process which we must understand better.

David S. Hoopes

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE

by

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and

Larry A. Samovar
California State University, San Diego

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Introduction

Intercultural communication increasingly has become a matter of vital interest and importance in the last fifteen years. Domestic events in the sixties focused our attention on communicative behaviors that in many cases were strange and did not conform to our usual expectations. Mario Savio, Huey Newton, Malcolm X, Timothy Leary and others became highly visible and vocal, and they disturbed us. Many of us often had difficulty comprehending their views or even understanding them. Simultaneously, contact with people from more distant cultures increased. Perhaps we had international students in our classrooms, traveled to foreign countries, or encountered foreign visitors at home. As with our domestic experiences, we frequently discovered communication difficulties: apparent and perhaps undefined barriers that impeded effective communication. Both domestic and international intercultural encounters sometimes left us confused, unable to understand why our communication skills failed us.

With the appearance of Hall's The Silent Language in the early sixties, we came to recognize the influence culture has on the entire communication process. Interest began to develop in intercultural communication, and as social events unfolded around us this interest quickened to a flury of activity. Books and studies appeared on such diverse subjects as the cultural aspects of communication in Asia (Oliver, 1962, 1971). foreign visitors' perceptions of the United States (Wedge, 1964), the rhetoric of agitation (Bosmajian and Bosmajian, 1970; Bowers and Ochs, 1971), Black rhetoric (Smith, 1969, 1972; Smith and Robb, 1971; Scott and Brockriede, 1970), and communication patterns among the urban poor (Dervin, 1970; Williams, 1970; Dervin and Greenberg, 1972). Special interest groups have developed the International Communication Association and the Speech Communication

Association. Graduate theses investigated intercultural communication specifically (Watson, 1968; Holiday, 1971) and generally by reviewing, evaluating, and synthesizing the existing literature (Ekroth, 1967; Porter, 1968). Now, books fully devoted to the communicative aspects of intercultural interaction have appeared (Hoopes, 1971; Samovar and Porter, 1972; Gorden, n.d.) (Prosser, 1972, p. 66) as texts suitable for undergraduate and graduate level courses in intercultural communication.

Perhaps our most important discovery is the realization that a great deal of knowledge about intercultural communication exists, but it is fragmented and scattered widely. Little attempt has been made to gather and synthesize what is known into a coherent body of useful and related material. Even less effort has been invested in developing a theoretical basis for the study of intercultural communication.

Now, we believe, it is time to assess our position and to think about and plan research that will remove the gaps in our knowledge, gather the existing literature into a coherent body of theoretical and practical knowledge, and lead us to understanding and control of intercultural communication. We must define our goals in terms of our purposes for studying intercultural communication and plan the research necessary to attain our goals. As a step toward developing a guide and framework for investigating intercultural communication, we are proposing research directions for the next decade. The proposals include guiding criteria as well as specific goals.

Intercultural communication research criteria

The following six criteria are set forth as general guides or frameworks within which we believe intercultural communication research should be conducted. They are not specific goals but are limiting parameters for the planning of intercultural communication research projects.

1. Intercultural communication research should contribute to our understanding of the role culture plays in influencing communicative behavior. An important basis for such research is a conceptualization of intercultural communication. We suggest it be viewed within the universal statement that communication is what occurs whenever meaning is attributed to behavior. Intercultural communication is subsumed in this universe of communication, and we may locate it by the statement intercultural communication occurs whenever meaning is attributed to behavior coming from another culture. We have chosen this view because it allows us to include for examination all cultural aspects of behavior that may function as messages. In this sense, a message is any behavior to which meaning may be attributed.

This conceptualization does not limit us to particular aspects of the intercultural communication process. We are free to consider language and linguistics, world view, the influence of prejudices and stereotypes, social roles and role prescriptions, nonverbal behaviors, emotional expression, the use and organization of time and space, social structure, and so on through an almost endless list. We also suggest this conceptual framework because it is suitable for both scientific methodologies and humanistic approaches to the study of human communication. Whether researchers are seeking to empirically verify the existence of a cultural variation in communicative behavior or seeking to apply Burke's (1967) theory of consubstantiation and identity to persuasion as it occurs within or between various cultures does not matter. The framework allows for both. In fact, its flexibility even allows for such esoteric views of communication as a submolecular systems or an interterrestrial systems approach.

2. Intercultural communication research should be conducted within an existing theoretical framework. If we want our investigations to be applicable

beyond the immediate event, our research must support the development of theories that account for and explain intercultural communicative behavior. We must work within a structure that leads to the building, refinement, and modification of our theories rather than to the satisfaction of random curiosity. Consequently, our research should be planned and conducted so our ideas, constructs, and hypotheses are derived from theoretical frameworks.

3. The development of a systematic and coherent explanation of human communication must include every aspect of the communication situation. Whether it be intrapersonal or intercultural, a complete and viable theory must consider and account for all happenings. Our research must seek to develop this ability by extending existing communication and rhetorical theories to the intercultural situation. Our existing body of theory was developed primarily in intracultural situations, and except for occassional cross-cultural comparisons, has not been systematically applied to the intercultural setting. We may understand the theory of cognitive dissonance, but the further development of communication theory requires, of course, that we discover how dissonance is produced in all cultures.

4. Working within a theoretical framework and extending existing theory to the intercultural situation has an inherent danger. We must not be trapped by what Kaplan (1964) has called the "Law of the Hammer." Briefly, the "Law of the Hammer" states that if you give a small child a hammer, everything it encounters will need pounding. This sometimes has been our problem; we attempt to explain everything with one theory. When intercultural communication was first recognized as a problem area, there was wide acceptance of the idea that if we learned the linguistic structure of the other language, then we would be able to communicate effectively. When we discovered that mastery of another culture's linguistic structure did not ensure communication, we began to scrap linguistic theory in favor of cultural values. This movement holds that if we

learn the value system of another culture, effective communication will then be possible. But, since this alone does not work, suggestions to scrap the cultural value system approach are appearing.

We must avoid the "Law of the Hammer" belief that any phenomena as complex and diverse as intercultural communication can be adequately explained by a single theory or a single approach. We must realize that human behavior can only be understood through a multiple theory framework and not discard an entire theoretical approach because it fails to solve all problems or to explain everything. Instead, this should signal us that our theory needs additional work and integration into a more encompassing theoretical framework. One, for instance, that joins linguistic structure with cultural values, world views, and other cultural influences on meaning eliciting behavior.

5. We should concern ourselves with intercultural communication on both the domestic and international levels. Some of us perceive intercultural communication as international and ignore or fail to be aware of the polycultural make-up of our own society. We must not only concern ourselves with communication between Americans and Japanese or Chinese or Russians, we must give a large share of our attention to the intercultural communication in our own communities. Black, Chicano, Oriental, Indian, and Anglo cultures have great variations and pose many communication problems for which we must find solutions.

6. Research should ultimately lead to the development of methods for teaching and improving intercultural communication skills. Communication is a complex set of behaviors by which individuals are linked. But these behaviors can be learned, unlearned, improved, and practiced. As professionals in the field of speech communication, we have a propriatory interest in the improvement of communication. In fact, in many ways, this is what distinguishes us from others

in the behavioral sciences and humanities. If we are to satisfy this interest in and tradition of improving communication skills, then we must develop the means of teaching necessary behaviors.

Goals for intercultural communication research

Extending existing theory to intercultural communication.-- Specified earlier was the research criteria of operating within a theoretical framework and extending existing theory. This should also be an actual goal. We must extend existing communication and rhetorical theory to intercultural communication events to determine how cultural frames of reference relate to our theory. We know of such communication elements as source, encoding, message, code, channel, decoding, receiver, response, noise, feedback, et cetera. But, we need to determine how these variables function in other cultures or when interactors are from different cultures.

There are a number of theories employing the concept of psychological balance or consistency to explain persuasion and attitude change. Rearrangement of cognitive structure due to psychological inconsistency is surely trans-cultural. But the sets of cognitions generally perceived as inconsistent are not trans-cultural. We know that thought processes, patterns of reasoning, and social structure are but a few of the cultural influences that can determine psychological balance. But, before we can understand the induction of cognitive inconsistency in minds patterned by other cultures, we must first understand how that mind functions.

Intercultural vs. cross-cultural research.--Our research must focus on intercultural rather than cross-cultural situations. Although cross-cultural comparisons reveal differences between cultures and give us insights about intercultural communication, this alone is insufficient; we must investigate speech communication situations where interpersonal relations occur between

members of different cultures. Our research designs must provide for the observation of intercultural interactions in the settings within which intercultural communication normally occurs. We have closely observed intercultural communication among students drawing from the readily available international student populations on our campuses. But this is an extremely limited arena. We need to expand into other areas if we are to offer any significant societal service. Businessmen engaged in international trade are specific persons in need of intercultural communication knowledge and training. What problems of organization and communication do they face as they set up offices in other countries? Even if we ignore such political problems as keeping the shadow of capitalism low-keyed in the Soviet Union, how do Americans learn about, recognize, and solve their normal communication problems with Russians or Chinese, or Latin Americans?

Requisite conditions for intercultural communication.--Intercultural communication research should seek and verify the requisite conditions for intercultural communication. Operating in the United States today is a strong social force that supports school integration by forced bussing and other means. This position is based on the assumption that interracial and intergroup contact within schools and classes will enable children to know each other better, reduce ethnic prejudice and intergroup tensions, and improve relations between the various ethnic groups and classes. However we may applaud such a goal, we need to evaluate the basis of this and other such assumptions upon which forced intercultural communication encounters may be based. Amir (1969), in reviewing the available literature on this subject, has stated "there is much evidence indicating that intergroup contact does not necessarily reduce intergroup tension or prejudice and that it may even increase tension and cause violent outbreaks, racial riots, and slaughter" (p. 30). Amir's findings make it paramount for

us to discover the characteristics of situations where contact does work and learn how to create those conditions. We cannot proceed blindly on the assumption that intercultural communication will succeed if we can just get together.

Effects of intercultural communication on participants.--What happens to participants during and after intercultural communication? How does intercultural contact affect the social perceptual frame of reference? What effects do a source's perceptions of different cultures have on his communication transactions with that country or culture? What happens to a person's future behavior if after an intercultural communication experience he develops an empathic feeling for the manner in which another sees the world? What factors in individuals are associated with empathic ability, and what means can be employed to increase this ability? What happens to the Anglo who has come to understand why a Black may refer to a policeman as a "pig"? What about his future behavior when he encounters another who vehemently denounces the Black's insulting of the "law and order forces." What happens to the thought processes? How do intercultural experiences affect personality characteristics? This area is one that currently is merely a list of questions we must deal with. Our knowledge is terribly lacking in this important aspect of communication.

Information diffusion in other cultures.--A continuing need earlier pointed out by Becker (1969) is to understand the ways in which information is diffused in various cultures. What channels are preferred for what types of communication? What codes are preferred and used? We must discover and thoroughly understand those unique diffusion institutions within each culture if we are to intelligently plan intercultural communication or even to understand it when it occurs. Perhaps Schramm's (1948) model of WHO communicates WHAT through WHICH channel to WHOM with what EFFECT would be an appropriate

guide for investigating this area. Presently we are very limited in this knowledge, especially in the domestic area. Holiday (1971) has pioneered this area with his work in the Chicano community of Los Angeles. But so much more needs to be accomplished.

Cataloging culturally determined patterns of communicative behavior.-- Many aspects of human behavior that vary culturally have been identified. For instance, we know differences in social structure, hierarchial systems and patterns of loyalties, linguistic structures, nonverbal behaviors, proxemics, time, philosophic orientations, and emotional expressions are culturally determined, and that these variations affect intercultural communication. There are many anecdotal records of communication difficulties which have occurred because of these differences. As a case in point, a British professor precipitated a student demonstration at Ain Shams University in Cairo in 1952 when he leaned back in his chair and put his feet up on the desk while talking to his class. What he did not realize is in the Middle East it is extremely insulting to have to sit facing the soles of someone's shoes (Yousef, 1972, p. 4).

Unfortunately, there are few available resources where the communicative behaviors peculiar to a specific culture are listed and described. The available material is widely scattered through an enormous collection of books and journals. We know wide differences do exist in cultural patterns of communicative behavior, but we often only have vague suspicions what differences may exist. Hall (1959, 1966), for instance, has told of proxemic differences between Latin Americans and North Americans in face-to-face interaction. But he has not specified what these differences are or how great they may be. Nor, for that matter, do we know if they really inhibit intercultural communication. And, are they the same for all Latins or do Colombians act differently than Costa Ricans? Are these patterns

consistent across socio-economic levels or do they vary? These questions need to be investigated thoroughly before we can develop prescriptive advice about intercultural communication.

To the satisfaction of this research goal, I suggest we compile the relevant communicative behaviors of various cultures into clear and concise intercultural catalogs. The efforts of the Language Research Center at Brigham Young University to establish an intercultural communication data bank is a step in this most necessary direction. Also, Gorden's American Guests in Colombian Homes: A Study in Cross-Cultural Communication. can serve us as a guide. Here such important but often overlooked aspects as the use of upstairs versus downstairs areas, bathroom patterns, bedroom uses, breakfast time, and the sharing of television sets are detailed and described. Such obvious influencing cultural factors as roles and role relationships, linguistic differences, and social structures are discussed. In satisfying this goal, we must carefully distinguish between cultural behaviors that significantly affect intercultural communication and those that are different and interesting but have little affect on communication outcomes. Here, of course, lies the need for empirical research that will test these differences in intercultural situations and determine their influence on intercultural communication.

Conclusion

This paper has outlined rather briefly what we perceive to be the immediate needs in intercultural communication research. Having established six guiding criteria for the research, we propose six general goals this research should accomplish. In brief they are (1) extending existing theory to intercultural communication, (2) concentrating on intercultural research rather than cross-cultural research, (3) finding the social and psychological conditions requisite

to successful intercultural contact, (4) determining the effects intercultural communication has on participants, (5) studying information diffusion in other cultures, and (6) cataloging culturally determined patterns of communicative behavior.

These goals are sufficient to foster much rich and needed communication research during the next decade. The importance of intercultural communication is growing rapidly, and if man expects to meet the challenges of greater interaction, we must provide the knowledge and understanding to help meet that challenge. This is our job, our duty, and our responsibility.

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OUTLINE OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Edward C. Stewart

The BCIU Institute
(Business Council for International Understanding)
The American University

Winter 1973

The Outline has been prepared to serve as a map for the loosely structured field of intercultural communication. It will be used to assist in planning a conference in intercultural communication which will be staged by a committee of the Speech Communication Association (SCA). The Outline has been reviewed and modified by readers and by members of the committee. It will serve to define some fifteen to twenty topics, and once these are selected, writers will be identified and asked to write original papers. A second conference will be held, with a broader audience participating as observers, to produce a final synthesis of the papers. The results should be a systematic volume in the field of intercultural communication.

This procedure was adopted to avoid producing papers which cannot be integrated into an overview, or that cannot be contained within the boundaries of the field. The Outline should therefore define the field, serve to select topics, provide structure to the conferences and furnish a general outline for a volume which will emerge as the final product. Its content should represent a theoretical analysis of intercultural communication, a review of its empirical accomplishments and a forecast of the future.

Although the Outline is general--it is proposed as a map--it rules out some topics and establishes a direction. Communication, rather than culture is the cornerstone; thus the Outline begins with the basic concepts of communication.

In developing this Outline, it has been borne in mind that work in the field of cultural communication should require the participation of persons from different cultures. Thus it has been planned to maintain the participation of American writers at twenty-five percent with the remainder drawn from other parts of the world. An analogous objective was adopted for the design of the Outline. It was intended to draw up a map of the field which avoided cultural biases, but this objective could not be attained since the document is deductive, analytical, abstract and in these and other features it unquestionably is culturally loaded. (The ideas intercultural and even communication already convey cultural implications.) Cultural objectivity will be established by insuring participation of representatives of various societies rather than by a culturally impartial organization of topics and conference.

The introduction of each section of the Outline begins with a review of the central issue of the section, procedes with a general definition of the level of theory involved, and ends with a miscellany of topics passed over as systematic points. In some cases these latter topics represent correctives for the cultural bias of the Outline, in other cases, traditional areas in communication which were considered peripheral systematic concepts. (For example, the mass media is included as a topic under applications to education.) Although both traditional and culturally specific subjects may be omitted, their content and concepts can be distributed over the Outline and accommodated within its categories.

BASIC ISSUES IN

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH

I. Basic Concepts

Writers in the field of information and communication theory refer to the paradox that communication is concerned with what is shared, but if senders and receivers share too much, there is no need for communication. Having mentioned the paradox, most writers move on to stress the shared aspects of communication and neglect the non-shared. An analogous situation exists in the field of psychology, with the "similarity paradox" in learning theory. In perception (Gestalt psychology) similarity is a principle and occurs in partial contradiction to the principles of holism and differentiation.

Practitioners of communication, particularly those in the intercultural field, use similarity and differences to structure their thinking with the stress usually falling on similarity. Thus they speak of communication based on "universals", "shared qualities" and "likenesses"; successful communication implies agreement or conformity; and theories of differences should be avoided, but relevant and concrete differences presented. In some cultures, Greek for instance, there appear to be a greater systematic stress on differences than in American society and communication based on differences is readily accepted.

In the field of intercultural communication, the balance is restored between similarity and differences in the paradox of communication, which is examined under conditions of differences defined as cultural.

A. Similarity in Communication

1. The principle of similarity in the process of communication
2. Kinds of similarity that should exist between sender and receiver

B. Differences in Communication

1. Kinds of differences in communication

2. Alternatives to the concept of differences

a. Contrasts

b. Dimensions

c. Dialectics--a "process" replacing more "static" concepts

C. Analysis of similarity and differences

The pervasiveness of thinking in communication undergirded by similarity and differences suggests that practice in the field preserves a phenomenon which has received scant analysis, and for intercultural communication, differences represents the key concept. Analysis of it, however, incurs the risks of either triviality or empty abstractions. The level of analysis (how much and how abstract the difference) is a critical issue.

The significance of using differences rather than similarities may be no more than the use of dimensions rather than categories. Contrast would imply analysis of "ranges" on a dimension rather than the "comparison" of two categories. Thus stress on differences, conceptualized as contrasts on dimensions, separates intercultural communication from communication with stress on similarities conceptualized as categories. (The notion of intercultural communication automatically includes the necessity of comparisons and contrasts in all statements.)

II. Theory of Communication in Intercultural Communication

This section is devoted to material drawn from information theory, linguistics, social psychology, semiotics, perception, ethology, physiology, philosophy, sociology, esthetics and language. The Outline avoids a roll call of the sciences and arts; instead it turns to each to extricate the

principles, concepts and contents which seem relevant for intercultural communication.

One of the guiding themes in the section should be to determine the process and structure of communication and to identify those principles, laws and methods which characterize communication as an independent field. Efforts along this direction such as those grounded in information theory, symbolism, or in some other model, do not present a coherent and comprehensive theory of communication. Thus this section of the outline will probably contain "chunks" or empirical problems in its final form treated at a systematic and theoretical level.

A. Components of Communication (adapted from Hymes)

1. Codes--sets or systems of symbols

a. Symbols--"intentional representations that stand for something else"

b. Verbal Codes (languages)

(1) Variant and invariant factors in languages

(2) Transformational grammars

(3) Functions of language in social control

(a) control functions with children, adults

(b) word taboos, secret and sacred words

(4) Analysis of functions should be confined to the verbal code to avoid overlap with analysis of functions of communication below.

c. Non-verbal codes, semiotics

d. Patterns of Codes

The view that a code such as language is not a meaningful concept, instead, the code (language) should be considered only as applied in patterns ("chunks") in a given context.

2. Participants in Communication

The customary analysis of the participants into sender and receiver should not obscure the assumption that communication is a process. Analysis of receiver and sender provides the entry into intercultural communication and hence will be elaborated under III. Cultural differences will be defined as properties of the sender and the receiver. An important focus for analysis is the disparity between the sender and the receiver in the process of communication: the receiver listens for a "sound", but the sender emits "words".

3. Form or Shape of Messages

a. Style

Rhetoric

b. Levels of Communication

The issue may be indicated as two levels of communication: overt and covert; or manifest and latent; or meaningful and perceptual levels.

In the area of the arts, music, painting and sculpture, the perceptual aspects of form in sound and vision are systematically linked to the overt meaning of the "message". This perceptual aspect receives treatment as the "code" of esthetics.

Drawing on painting to illustrate, communication may be considered at two levels simultaneously with three possible relationships existing between the two levels. In the first, the painterly qualities of a painting (color, design, brightness, etc.) communicate the same or similar message as the content of the painting. The two levels may on the other hand communicate contrasting messages, or the relationship between

the two may be ambiguous. (A similar analysis could be conducted for the relationship of verbal messages versus paralanguage, kinesics, etc.)

4. Channels of Communication

   a. The properties of the modalities: vision, audition, touch, pain, kinesthesis, temperature, smell and taste.

   b. Multiple channels of communication

The combination of vision and audition in television provides the most obvious multiple channels of communication, but there is the important example of perception itself in both vision and audition combining with the content or the symbols of the message to provide content as well as form in the message. An example which makes the point is onomatopoeia, in which the sound as well as the word conveys meaning.

   (1) Synesthesia--an example of multiple channels of imagery.

   (2) Perceptual forms such as number forms in which the numbers are imagined to exist in space with distinctive forms, thus fusing concepts and perceptual qualities.

5. Setting or Context for Communication

   a. The communicative qualities of the roles of the sender and receiver

   b. The event in communication may be considered as the unit of communication

   c. Environmental, ecological or other factors in the setting which affect communication.

B. Functions of Communication

1. Referential--transmit information, knowledge
2. Emotive--expressiveness
3. Conative--intentional, motivational
4. Poetic--fusion of concrete perception and abstraction
5. Phatic--belongingness, affiliation
6. Metalingual--communication about communication
7. Metaphysical--world view

C. Concepts

1. Structural Concepts

a. Information Theory

(1) The theory is based on several concepts such as information, entropy, feedback, etc., which need to be developed.

(2) Suppression of information--The concept of information is defined to include potential "information" as well as that which is communicated. Thus meaning is defined in terms of the message and also in terms of all potential messages. For any one message transmitted, there is simultaneously suppression of information, which can be inferred by appeal to the total domain of information from which the message was drawn. Information theory deals with the phenomenon systematically. The idea, suppression of information, can be broadened to include assumptions in communication and other explicit phenomena; some indicated below.

(a) Suppression of information in the visual modality; in pictures, images, etc.

(b) Social logic and other work from Garfinkel and others in ethnomethodology.

b. Linguistics

Phoneme, morpheme, grammar, etc.

c. Physiological principles

What are the qualities of the nervous system, the brain and the process of perception which impose limits or invariances on communication?

(1) Forms and shapes imposed on messages by physiological principles (i.e. what are the impositions, if any, of the process of abstraction occurring with visual stimuli between the retina and the projection on the brain? What are the implications of the works of Kuffler and others?)

(2) Problems of concreteness and abstraction

(3) Problems of the particular and the universal, especially in language

(4) The question of the two-term, three-term, or n-term logic; what are the contributions of physiology for these questions and what are the ramifications for communication? Process, is it a concept that evades two-term logic without embracing three or n-term logic?

2. Functional Explanations and Principles

a. Balance principles of dissonance, congruity feedback and the negative homeostatis of Weiner

b. Sequencing (diachronic) effects of communication and effects of association in visual modalities

c. Important empirical area: dissonance theory and research

3. Mechanical and computer models of intercultural communication

D. Processing and Encoding-Decoding of Messages

1. Perception

2. Storing, memory storage processes

3. Retrieving

How does the process of retrieving take place? What are the operative principles; is retrieval based on chance? Is there choice involved? What are the qualities of retrieval affected by the modality of the information stored which is retrieved?

4. The impact of stored information on attitudes, images and eventually on behavior.

III. Cultural Aspects

Culture is defined at the outset as predispositions of the individual shared with only some others and which govern behavior. Presumably, therefore, a causal system can be described between the actions and the predispositions of the individual. In this section the framework in which the analysis of the individual's culture may be carried out is suggested.

A second definition of culture is given as the ambience or the system of predispositions derived from demographic variables and shared by its members. This perspective discards the point of view of the individual and implies a different set of cause and effect relationships at the level of a population.

The status of theory is not entirely satisfactory leading to some incongruities. Thus this section might stress certain empirical problems and redefine them at a systematic and theoretical level. (The term culture is used loosely below for convenience in communication.)

A. Method for Analyzing Culture

1. Componential Analysis and its assumptions; emic and etic analyses
2. Definition of Cultural and cultural universals
   a. Individual level--the work of Piaget, Maslow, etc.
   b. Other levels including the work of Kluckhohn and Levi-Strauss. Particular attention should be given to structuralism.

B. Components of Culture

1. Quantum of the Culture and the cultural quantum of communication (In some groups the concept of communication is not as favored as in others. Does this imply a different unit of communication or a different function for it?) What is the interface between the individual and the culture?

2. Perception

The work on color terms is particularly appropriate for elucidating perception and other aspects of culture. Also, the work on different styles of perception is significant.

3. Patterns of Thinking. Includes "causation" and "free will"

4. Functions of Language

The functions of language will vary from culture to culture, group to group, etc. There are also qualities of the language which influence its functions in a given setting which should be examined. For instance:

   a. Language: Learned or natural phenomenon (Chomsky)
   b. The positive or negative loading of adjectives and of evaluations in a given language; the lexical markings
   c. The degree to which speakers use their language in accord with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. (Culture classified according to functions of language.)

e. "Elaborated" and "restricted" codes as studied by Bernstein

5. Assumptions

Deep, implicit or silent assumptions. Assumptions may be treated as suppressed information in information theory. The organization and substance of assumptions in communication will not be treated here; some important assumptions are listed without intent to be systematic:

a. Forms of thinking: rules of evaluation, dialectics, and the apocalyptic or revolutionary mode of thought

b. Assumptions and expectations of change

c. Semantics of socialism

d. Assumptions of spatial imperatives, territorialism; the sense of space and place

6. Values

There are various analyses of values which could serve to expand this category. An important idea can be presented here; it links with the suppression of information. Under conditions of equality, there is social pressure to communicate and thereby participate. It is important in the cultural area to stress the value of freedom not to communicate.

7. Role

a. The impact of grammar of roles on communication

b. A huge portion of literature on small groups, reference groups, can be included here

c. Stress on freedom not to communicate combined with role gives apopathetic behavior, generalized influence of presence of others on communication

8. Events

The influence on communiation of the setting, of the ecological conditions

C. Function of Culture

To define reality, to provide normative rules, etc.

D. Culture at the level of demographic variables (How individual is integrated with institutions)

Although the definition of culture as the predispositions of the individual seems to be the most appropriate for intercultural communication, the definition neglects the bonds which exist among people who compose the same cultural group. There is the need to consider behavior occurring in political, sociological or a generalized cultural setting. It is suggested that this level can be treated as the ambience of the setting for intercultural communication.

The necessity of the Darwinian level of definition may be indicated by the following hypothetical case:

It is conceivable possible to locate two Americans and one Chinese of such natures that one American and the Chinese would be very similar in personal predispositions, more alike than the two Americans. Thus both the Chinese and the one American should be classified under the same culture, while the other American should be assigned to a second culture. How can the two Americans be assigned to the same culture without recourse to physical biographical and other data--which implicitly are used to determine cultural affiliations which ignore the terms employed for analyzing culture and cultural differences?

E. Culture at the level of institutions

(This level is different from the one adopted in this outline; it represents a sociological level of analysis and of societal universals. These are: Economic, Political, Religion, Education, and the Family.)

F. Culture of Technology

(This topic also represents an alternative to the general direction of the outline.)

1. Information overload
2. Urbanization
3. Values underlying technology
   a. Changes in Great Britain during the 19th Century
   b. Contrast between the values in the U.S.A. and in Japan
4. Development of universal cultural of scientific-urban technological values
   a. How suitable are present American values for the future?
   b. What are the nature of changes in American society of the last ten years in the areas of technology, information, communication, etc.? (Changes in the technical-communication area)

G. Culture analyzed at the level of history

(This level is divergent from the direction of the outline; proposes analysis of culture as "civilization".)

IV. Intercultural Communication

In this section the theory of communication is combined with the cultural components. The results should be the variations in communication caused by the cultures of the sender and receiver.

The problem of what existing cultures should be used to examine the process of intercultural communication has to be settled. The choices may be determined by the cultural background of the selected writers; it may be chosen on some other basis which is judged significant such as politics, economics, etc., or the choice of cultures may be arbitrary and made on a basis of convenience.

The use of the method,componential analysis, suggests employing contrast cultures as the vehicles for content. The suggestions below are built on contrast cultures.

A. Contrast Cultures

1. The set of values found at the extreme ends of dimensions used to analyze cultures are called contrast cultures
2. Can contrast cultures be considered analogoues to transformational or to generative grammars in language?

B. Critical Components of Intercultural Communication

The components of communication should reflect the differences of contrast cultures. For practical purposes, certain of the components of culture represent more critical differences in communication. A combination of critical components from communication and from culture yields several empirical or problem areas, as follows:

1. Interfaces in Communication

The relationship, or the rapport, between sender and receiver may be referred to as the interface. At least three interfaces should be considered:

a. Sympathy--based on similarity of sender and receiver

b. Empathy--based on differences but congruent objectives

c. Trust--too vast and complex a topic to be defined here; trust should be considered at two levels at least:

(1) personal

(2) institutional or organizational

2. Patterns of Thinking

a. Prevalence of dichotomy as shaper of thinking and decisions

b. Universalism-Particularism in patterns of thinking

c. Forms of evaluation

3. The "as if" strategy in communication

a. Simulation as a principle

b. Games

c. Implied Observer-Agents as patterns of thinking and communication

d. The arts as "as if" strategies

4. Orientations to Action

Decision-making and problem-solving

5. Cultural Styles of Communication (Private and Public Rules)

a. Topics of conversation according to event-structures

b. Rules for the display of emotions

c. Rules of evidence

d. Reserves of Meaning: diachronic, synchronic, symbolic and abstract

C. Functions of Communication

Differences in the stress and in the nature of function of communication in different contrast cultures. (Combine II.B. and IV.A.)

V. Training and Applications

(Education, training and influencing)

The field of intercultural communication has always been closely linked to applications in the field. The field itself arose from the need of practitioners to cope with and work in a strange culture.

In this section, the problems of education, training and influencing are raised. Some various programs are reviewed. The word "training" is used to refer to that process, while "student" is used to refer to the receiver of the communication.

A. Training

1. Kinds of Training

   a. Education--refers to a process and implies changes in attitudes and in knowledge

   b. Training--refers primarily to changes in skills and hence to specific applications

   c. Orientation--refers to adding of information to the repertoire of the student with implication of application and practicality

2. Definition of training objectives (the changes to be brought about in the student)

The objectives of training represent an issue which has been widely and heatedly debated. In the most general sense the training change of the student refers to learning an integration of cognitive and experimental factors. This view includes reference to the results as well as to the process of learning. The issues may be analyzed along the terms below.

a. Awareness--the role of the student's cultural self-awareness in bringing about effective learning and performance

b. Training for communication interfaces

The creation, empathy, sympathy and trust for members of other cultures. The roles of introjection and of projection in education and in performance.

c. Cultural adaptation

The modification of the student's own cultural values, etc., for the purpose of facilitating adaptation to other societies. (What adaptation should be made? What are the limits consonant with "freedom"?)

d. Predisposing the student to action and performance

(1) Predisposing to action (action learning)

(2) Predisposing to knowledge (learning learning)

3. Means of Training

(General strategies rather than specific methods)

a. Does training impart novel new ways for the student, or does it provide coding for retreiving old patterns in new combinations and for different events?

b. The use of contrasts in education

Minimizing the use of dichotomies and introducing genuine alternatives for cross-cultural perception, evaluation and performance.

c. Desired emotional investment and personal commitment in education and in performance.

d. "insular communication"

Is it instructive to consider training for communication taking place when differences exist within boundaries common to senders

and receivers which keep them in the field so to speak?

Methods Used in Education--General

Human relations, simulation, role playing, etc.

Methods Used in Language Instruction

4. Special Effects

a. Visual modalities--since the visual image is strongly dependent on past experience and knowledge, it must be particularly sensitive to cultural differences. As a contrast, learning a language involves adoption of the other system entirely since language as a code entails much more invariance than the image. It would seem that the "variance" of the image would be particularly useful in education in the field of intercultural communication serving as a projector for personal and cultural predispositions. The visual image is excellent for arousal, problematical for expression, but lacks statements without the expectations of the perceiver. With images, the disparity between the sender and the receiver is maximized: What is intended by the sender is only very generally an invariant derivation by the receiver. It is possible that various persons, and cultures as well, become specialists in certain aspects of visual messages since their invariance is small, and that the variance becomes diagnostic of the culture or the individual. These almost random comments support the contention that the visual modality has a special significance for intercultural communication.

b. Sojourn in another culture provides a background of difference--of fantasy and of imagination--which facilitates learning. Procedures in education could stress this principle by appeals to fantasy, visual images, etc.

5. Training Experiments in Intercultural Communication

   a. Results of the experiments: education, training

   b. Problem of control of two or more languages

6. Evaluation

7. Using the Mass Media

This is an important and interesting topic viewed from the point of view of definition of senders and receivers, and from the difficulty of analyzing exactly how changes are brought about in attitudes or behavior by the mass media.

B. Applications of Intercultural Communication: Persuasion and Influencing

This is a vast topic which will not be summarized here. Some of the important work is found with Hovland and colleagues on matters such as two sides of an argument; Heider's work; the area of dissonance theory and experimentation; the work of Sherif; attitudes of fear of manipulation; the effects of propaganda, and the factor of inferior status in susceptibility to efforts to influence. These topics barely scratch the surface and suggest some of the empirical areas which deserve to be examined in a thoroughgoing intercultural perspective.

C. Applications of Intercultural Communication: Conflict Reduction

There is the promise that intercultural communication can contribute to conflict reduction. It may be compared to social efforts to reduce conflict or to efforts to establish personal meaning such as sensitivity training and psychotherapy.

IV. Theoretical Summary

Much of the impetus behind the Outline has been an intent to examine the field of intercultural communication to determine its unique contribution, if any, to the field of communication. For purposes of directness and simplicity, the theoretical underpinnings of the entire effort were kept to a minimum in Section I. To attain the original purpose of the Outline, a thorough and systematic examination of basic concepts in intercultural communication seems necessary. This final section is intended to serve as a summary of topics which should appear in the body of the Outline. Some topics, which should be of particular interest, are mentioned below; an entire theoretical summary is not given.

A. Communication and the Principle of Similarity

Summary of the conclusions reached with respect to:

1. Necessary similarities of sender and receiver
2. The similarity basis of the concept of information
3. Consideration of two dimensions of time and space with respect to implications for communication
   a. Repetition and sequences in time ("diachronic")
   b. Symmetry and redundancy in space ("synchronic")
   c. Order and pattern: repetition as structure, as controlled redundancy

B. Communication and the Principle of Difference

1. Randomness and choice as referents for differences
   a. What is the relevance of entropy and other concepts from the field of information theory for metatheory in intercultural communication?
   b. Epistomology of choice

      Is choice metatheory or not?

This powerful concept and its first kin, preference, lie outside ordinary causal systems. Their consideration raises the question of cause and effect in communication theory which introduces one of the least understood and yet most important problems in communication: the relationship, including the causal one, between content of a message, its effect on the receivers predispositions (attitudes, values, etc.) and its effect on behavior. The examination of choice and preference as favorite underpinnings of American psychology introduces a concept with a thread running through the sections of the outline. This thread begins with the source of behavior, the provenance, buried in the agent of choice or preference. Thus there is a necessary stress on qualities of the agent as the origin of his actions. The thread from section to section would provide the following sequence of topics: (1) epistomology of choice, and choice as difference; (2) theory of choice in communication; (3) stress on certain functions of communication such as referential, and cultural differences regarding the sources of behavior; (4) specific effects attained by intercultural communication, i.e., sender functioning on the basis of choice, but receiver on the basis of role; (5) personal involvement of student in training.

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AN OUTLINE OF PROBLEMS IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS EDUCATION, TRAINING AND RESEARCH

David S. Hoopes

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1. Lack of research or, to an extent, even research models on the intercultural communication process.

It has been suggested that intercultural communication, in its interpersonal dimension, is the process of interaction which occurs in the intercultural encounter. From this perspective research is thin indeed. Some theory-building has taken place over the last fifteen years, but empirical studies are very nearly non-existent. Until we have much more research data our efforts in intercultural education and training will continue to have a hit-or-miss quality.

2. Lack of acceptance of experience-based intercultural education in the academic world.

This results in significant degree from the general paucity of research on experiential education. It also results from the inability of the advocates of intercultural education to cast its experiential or intercultural communications dimension into an adequate cognitive framework. We not only need to know much more about the social psychological processes of the intercultural encounter but we must also be able to couch educational programs based on this encounter in systematic and academically acceptable terms.

3. Lack of genuinely intercultural education, training and research

As in any field of human endeavor the educational and programmatic activities which base themselves on intercultural communication concepts conform to the intellectual and behavorial modes of the dominant culture group. The paradoxical result is that in many respects the field of intercultural communication is itself quite imperfectly intercultural. It in general conforms to the patterns of thought and behavior of white westerners in whom the interest in the field has been most pronounced to date. Collaborative multicultural research, education and training are an imperative if intercultural communication is going to break through the limitations imposed upon it by the domination of a single cultural perspective.

4. Lack of instruments to measure training effects.

This is not a problem peculiar to intercultural communication. Measuring attitude change and affective skill development resulting from any kind of education or training is still in a primitive state. It is particularly difficult in a multi-cultural situation because the measuring devices and evaluative criteria may have to be adjusted according to cultural variables relative to each person involved.

5. Lack of effective use of accessible intercultural milieux as contexts for research, training and education.

Varying national, racial and ethnic groups are easily accessible to virtually every research institution in the world. Workshops including members of these groups with those of the dominant culture-group constitute a ready-made framework for intercultural research while at the same time serving a valuable educational and human relations function in themselves.

Workshops which include foreign and American students and which take place on many campuses around the U.S. are a case in point. Non-exploitive research designs and multi-cultural research teams are a sine qua non to the development of this potential, however.

6. Lack of integration between academic and non-academic, theoretical and applied, cognitive and affective dimensions of intercultural communication.

These divisions are the bane of much educational effort and intercultural communications education and training are no exception. That is not an excuse, however. The centrality of intercultural communication to the working out of a habitable world argues against tolerating the uncertainties which result when theoretians remain isolated from reality and practitioners depend primarily on intuition in managing crucial human relationships.

7. Lack of satisfactory arenas for interaction and channels of communication among persons engaged in intercultural education, training and research.

The field has developed out of practical needs and applications in disparate areas of endeavor. Communication among these areas has been poor and even among those engaged in exactly the same kinds of work there has been little opportunity to meet in consideration of common problems. The newly established Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research is particularly designed to meet this problem.

8. Lack of impact on businessmen, educators, and government leaders who fail to recognize the critical importance of intercultural communication.

The jargon of the field, the unfamiliarity of its concepts and the downright resistance to the idea that anything as simple as "communication" could be a complex and demanding subject of study have kept intercultural communication from developing the support it needs. While this is changing

in education, elsewhere there seems almost to be a retrenchment (business, The Peace Corps). There is a great need for a major effort to educate the public to what intercultural communication is, the role it plays in our lives and the potential value of intercultural education and training in attacking problems at all levels of human relations. This is another aim of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research.

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS IN CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

by
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In discussing intercultural communication problems in cross-cultural research here, I will limit myself to some key methodological and procedural difficulties rather than to broad theoretical problems. However, many of these methodological issues do carry significant theoretical implications.

As Samovar and Porter (1972) have pointed out, intercultural communication has not been the subject of intensive research by communication scientists. And a systematic attack on various intercultural communication problems is yet to be launched. However, published cross-cultural research reports by social and behavioral scientists in other disciplines have shed light on many key flaws and difficulties traceable to a deficiency in our understanding of intercultural communication problems. These may serve as important cautions to those of us who are interested in cross-cultural research.

Cross-cultural research employs three main research methods--survey research, controlled experiment and ethnographic analysis. In the following sections I will summarize the key problems often encountered in each of these three research methods.

Survey Research

Among others, problems of cross-cultural survey research may stem from three sources: (1) the adoption of a questionnaire translated from a foreign culture, (2) sampling methods, and (3) culturally insensitive fieldwork. Survey research problems related to sampling and fieldwork are especially serious in many developing countries. These difficulties include a substantially high refusal rate, distrust of the interviewer, difficult access to female respondents, logistic difficulties and government harrassment. Cantril (1965) in a study of the aspirations and concerns of the people in 14 countries encountered all these problems in most of the developing countries he observed. Recently Nakajima of the Theoretic Research Center of Japan Broadcasting Cororation echoed the same experience while conducting a mass communication research project in Pakistan.

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To counterbalance the low cooperation rate in certain segments of the population, weighted data are sometimes used to make the necessary generalizations in cross-cultural comparisons (Cantril, 1965). The danger of this approach lies in the dubious assumption that the refusals and the non-accessible share the same traits as those in the final sample. This assumption is especially dangerous when the refusals and the non-accessible come primarily from a particular caste or tribe whose ecological environment necessitates the adoption of a different set of cultural traits. Theoretically, until one has the evidence that the refusals and the final sample share the same cultural traits, one should be careful in using the weighted data to make generalizations.

Another difficulty often encountered by survey researchers in developing countries is the incomplete and out-dated census data which contain little or no projective information. This kind of data makes the drawing and the checking of a representative sample extremely difficult, if not impossible. As a result, survey research in developing countries tends to use area samples. However, due to the inaccurate and out-dated maps, area sampling may not be satisfactory, especially the sampling of the "mobile" segments of the population--e.g., those who live on sampans in Hong Kong or Bangkok, or those who build and live in illegal dwellings, which are often not listed on official maps.

Complete adoption of a research questionnaire developed in a foreign culture can create methodological hardships, too. For instance, using the Western measurement of voting frequencies to gauge the level of political participation in many developing countries would be impractical and irrelevant because in these countries voting is a completely alien experience to the great majority of the people. By the same token, public opinion surveys would probably be difficult and misleading in the Samoan culture because individuals in Samoa tend to restrain themselves from expressing their personal opinion on public issues being processed through community channels (Keesing and Keesing, 1956).

Another serious and often insoluble problem of cross-cultural survey research is interference from the government, which often renders a politically sensitive survey project impossible. Even if it is possible to conduct a sensitive project under the "sponsorship" of the government, data generated from such research often has dubious value because they tend to reflect a set response rather than the genuine personal opinion of the respondents. Unless the political climate changes in such a manner as to de-sensitize the project, there is little the intercultural researcher can do to solve this problem.

Controlled Experiment

Cross-cultural research using the experimental method essentially uses the cultural variable as the experimental element; in doing so it becomes necessary to control all other intervening variables such as different test environments, incompatible test instruments and inequivalent experimental groups. If the test conditions and the instruments are not similar, they

are likely to interact with the cultural variable, thus making interpretation of the results impossible. Thus, the difficulty of cross-cultural experimental research tends to center on the development of equivalent test instruments and procedures.

One of the most serious drawbacks of intercultural experimental research involving the subject's experiences and values is the adoption, through translation, of an etic or foreign test instrument. Even though many intercultural researchers (Campbell, 1964; Rogers, 1969; Prezeworski and Teune, 1970; Triandis, 1972) have warned against such an approach, we still see from time to time cross-cultural studies that are conducted this way.

The methodological flaw of the straight translation approach lies in the absence of reliability and validity testing of the instrument cross-culturally. In general, the procedure for developing test instruments or questionnairesfollows these steps: (1) the specification of content domain, (2) sampling of an appropriate set of items representing that domain, (3) demonstrations of item homogeneity for groups of items, and (4) reliability and validity tests Triandis, (1972). When an instrument is translated and adopted from a foreign culture, it necessarily omits all the aforementioned steps. The flaw has both theoretical and procedural ramifications.

To solve this problem, the etic-emic approach has been suggested. In this approach, one starts with an etic construct that appears to have universal or cross-cultural equivalence and then develops emic ways to measure it. This ensures that the instruments developed in the respective cultures are measuring the same contruct. A necessary prerequisite is a check to make sure that such constructs do exist in the various cultures.

The intercultural communication problems resulting from centralized translation of the test instrument in cross-cultural research are at least two in number. First of all, if language both reflects and shapes a culture, then it is extremely difficult, if not entirely impossible, to translate a certain concept in its entirety into another language. Even if we can overcome the syntax problem in translation, we still have the overwhelming semantic problem to tangle with. For instance, if I am to translate the Buddhist concept of "dukkha" into English, I will probably use the word "suffering." True, "dukkha" literally means suffering; but the word "suffering" does not carry the original semantic cycle of suffering in our life--birth, old age, illness, and death. As Glenn (1964) has correctly illustrated, translation often can only satisfy the criterion of generating the "immediate meaning" but not the "latent meaning."

Another drawback of centralized translation in developing intercultural research instruments involves the choice of words. Even if perfect translation is possible, it would be very unlikely that words would occur in a foreign language with the same frequencies as they appear in the original language. Since word-occurrence frequencies often affect one's comprehension and verbal expression, the choice of words for translation may eventually affect the outcome of a piece of research.

All these warnings against centralized translation, however, do not mean that translation has no place in cross-cultural research. We still need translation to generate culturally-comparable concepts, items and test instructions. If translation is needed, Werner and Campbell (1970) suggest that the back-translation approach be used. Essentially, this procedure requires a multi-stage back-translation. For instance Message (A1) is translated into language B by a group of bilinguals and becomes Message (B1). Message (B1) is then back-translated into language A by another group of bilinguals and becomes Message (A2). Then Messages (A1) and (A2) are compared by a group of monolinguals to see if both messages have similar meaning. If not, the original message will have to be revised or simplified and go through the same process of back-translation again until the final product closely resembles the meaning of the original message.

Other intercultural communication difficulties of cross-cultural research using the experimental method may sometime stem from lack of comparable test environments and experimenter-subject relationships. Thus, care should be taken to ensure that subjects in both cultures are relatively equal in their familiarity with the test instrument and comprehension of the test instruction. Test anxiety should also be controlled and accounted for in making comparison.

Ethnographic Analysis

Ethnographic analysis essentially uses a culture as the basic unit of measurement and uses the cultural norm for comparison; individual variations within the culture are held constant in the intercultural comparison (Whiting, 1968). Much of cross-cultural research on non-verbal communication falls within this category. There are, chiefly, two problems related to research of this kind: (1) selection of non-comparable research units and (2) bias in coding and observation.

In choosing cultural units for ethnographic comparison, Whiting (1968) argued that the local community should be the unit for cross-cultural comparison because its members tend to have frequent face-to-face contact, speak the same dialect, have some degree of self-control and usually have a group name. In other words, in choosing a cultural unit, homogeneity and frequent intercommunication should serve as the criteria of selection.

To combat subjective bias of observation and coding, a team of investigators should be used so that intercoder reliability can be used as a check. While public observation is a useful tool for ethnographic study, one should not rely solely on it as the data source because many private communication behaviors often defy public observation. Thus, native informants from different sub-groups of the cultural unit can be another important information source and serve as a check on the data.

Since most ethnographic studies are recorded in written records, detailed analysis and comparison of non-verbal communication behaviors often become difficult. For instance, the verbal account that the Chinese stick out their tongues to show embarrassment and regret but that Americans stick out their tongues to show contempt or displeasure does not tell us how the Chinese and the Americans stick out their tongues to express their respective feelings. Are the muscles around the nose contracted while the

tongue is sticking out? How long do they each stick out their tongues? To increase the quality of cross-cultural non-verbal communication research, such tools as audio and video tapes, film, and photography should be used to provide additional data.

In summary, the intercultural communication difficulties of cross-cultural research tend to be related to the establishment of equivalence--equivalence of subjects, research instruments, and test conditions. The adoption of directly-translated instruments from another language should be avoided because such adoption omits the necessary procedures of reliability and validity testing. When translation is needed, back-translation should be used.

Administratively, Berrien (1970) recently stated that the best cross-cultural research is "that which: (1) engages the collaborative efforts of two or more investigators of different countries, each of whom is (2) strongly encouraged and supported by institutions in the respective countries..." This is an extremely useful statement, for our colleagues in other cultures can not only provide advice and assistance in tackling sampling, fieldwork, translation and other methodological problems but also provide valuable interpretation of the data from different perspectives thus balancing our ethnocentric views.

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BLACK COMMUNICATION RESEARCH: A PROBLEM IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

by

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In terms of being an area of study that was neglected in the past and an area of study that is now finding its way into speech communication curricula, the area of Black communication faces many of the same problems that are faced by students of intercultural communication. Problems related to research, training, and teaching abound in both areas of study. While the study of Black communication faces the usual problems of obtaining primary resources, establishing appropriate methodologies, developing a community of scholars, developing methods of disseminating information, etc., the development of the area of Black communication is also to a large degree hampered by its intercultural dimension.

The very act of speaking of Black communication, as opposed to simply speaking of communication implies many of the factors that are commonly thought of when one speaks of intercultural communication. Specifically, a reference to Black communication calls attention to the fact that a distinct cultural group exists, and the fact that the cultural group's communication is substantially different from non-Blacks. The intercultural dimension of Black communication can become more clear when we realize that the call for the study of Black communication came out of a situation in which Blacks and non-Blacks, particularly many of those of the white race, were having serious problems in

terms of interacting with each other politically, physically, and symbolically. While the multi-faceted problem of racism in North America, Europe, and Africa is not simply a problem of intercultural communication, certainly some of the problems can be accounted for in these terms.

It is maintained here that one of the many results of racism is that over a period of time the life experiences of the oppressor and the oppressed have become so divergent that communication between them can be thought of as an intercultural communication situation. However, the intercultural dimension of the situation is often missed because of the perceptual bias, dogma, and general ignorance that people have with regard to the oppressed. For example, it is all too often falsely assumed that residence in America and the speaking of English have resolved whatever cultural differences that existed between Blacks and Whites. I believe that if researchers hold false assumptions such as this one, then their attempt to study Black communication will in part be a problem of intercultural communication. In addition to disspelling false assumptions, we must have a sound non-culture-bound, theoretical and philosophical framework from which to work if we are to have progress in Black communication research. Many of the problems of conducting research, training, and teaching in Black communication stem from the absence of a sound conceptual framework. In their efforts rapidly to develop the area of Black communication, would-be researchers in this area have all too often failed to grasp the full implication of the fact that the very act of studying Black communication has intercultural communication dimensions. One of the basic ways in which fact is ignored is by researchers desiring to begin with the question of <u>how</u> to conduct research in this area.

I have often been aksed, "What kind of studies should we be doing at this time in Black communications? That is, do we need to conduct experiemntal studies, historical studies, case studies, or what? Should we use a behavioral science approach or should we use a more intuitive approach?" In short, I receive quite a few questions on how to conduct research in Black communication. I think that this immediate concern with how occurs because for various reasons people want to collect some data in order to have tangible things to discuss and teach about. However, in spite of their reasons, I do not believe that real progress can be made in this area if we begin with the question of how. Moreover, I believe that when it comes to the study of Black communication, it is a cultural bias that leads to the asking of questions concerning how before asking and answering questions about what, who, and why. This cultural bias in part stems from the false assumption that Blacks in America are not culturally different from Whites, and any differences that do exist are either failures to become fully assimilated or innate differences on the part of Blacks that do not permit them to become fully human. This cultural bias also stems from a basic cultural difference in Black communication as opposed to scientific methods of inquiry. Specifically, Black communication is more of a function of what, who, and why as opposed to how. Black communication never has content subservient to form, and the researcher who begins with form is immediately on the trail of intercultural communication difficulties. More will be said about this later. Before we proceed further with this matter, we must realize that even the what of Black communication is confusing for many.

There are those who talk about Black communication and their meaning of Black is derived from the negative connotations of the color word in English, i.e., dull, bad, evil, illegal, etc. I hope that everyone can easily see how this meaning of Black would simply lead to research into the psychopathology of racists and not provide enlightenment on the communication of Black people. There are others who use the word Black to refer to race.

The use of Black in reference to a particular race puts the researcher on a little safer ground than when the reference is merely to the negative connotations of the color word. However, the use of Black to refer to race can only be used as a sign post since we have not conducted research that demonstrates that the characteristics of race have fundamental effects on the complex behavior of people. Black, used to refer to race, derives its significance as a sign post because of its correlation, which is far from a one to one relationship, with the root causes of behavioral differences across cultures, i.e., the primary assumptions which make up one's attitude of mind.

Only when we use Black to refer to a particular attitude of mind can we truly make progress in the area of Black communication. Coming to grips with this Black attitude of mind is also what, for many people, makes the study of Black communication a problem of intercultural communication. Accordingly, understanding the Black attitude of mind, constitutes one of the primary obstacles to research in Black communication.

An attitude of mind can be equated with the concept of world view if one means by world view how one lives as opposed to one's intellectual understanding of the world, i.e., a view of the world. An attitude of mind is made up of what might be called primary assumptions. Primary assumptions are those first religious, philosophical principles that give birth to a culture. Culture itself can be thought of as that organized pattern of behavior that is the function of an integrated set of primary religious, philosophical assumptions. We have

intercultural communication situations when two or more people come together with different sets of primary assumptions. It is not the differences in symbols that primarily account for intercultural difficulties. The symbols are merely physical barriers which can be overcome with sufficient training. The primary assumptions are psychological barriers which might not have been overcome even when the two or more people are using the same symbols since these primary assumptions are interwoven into our whole process of living. The problem for conducting research in Black communication is to ascertain the primary assumptions that make up the Black attitude of mind. Unless this is done, the behavioral manifestations of Black communication cannot help but be distorted by being evaluated in terms of the primary assumptions of the researcher. As a Jamaican friend of mine stated, in order to conduct research on a given group of people, "you must learn to see as they see and hear as they hear." Potential researchers in Black communication all too often assume that Blacks see as the researcher sees, and hear as the researcher hears, and thus the only problem in studying Black communication is to decide on area priorities. In order to clarify this point, let us briefly consider how the primary assumptions of the academic stream of thought might be incompatible with the primary assumptions that foster Black communication.

One of the fundamental differences between the academic stream of thought and Black communication might entail one's understanding of cause and effect. By its emphasis on objectivity, quantification, empirical verification, etc., the academic stream of thought might lead one to believe that the world of causation is quite "visible," and therefore, is capable of empirical verification. However, one of the primary assumptions of the African world view is that the invisible world constitutes the world of causation and the visible world merely constitutes the world of effects. With this fundamental difference in primary assumptions, an intercultural, methodological question is raised. How does one develop research methodologies that are in keeping with the

primary assumption that the invisible subjective world is the world of causation, and the objective, visible, empirical world is the world of effect? Perhaps an additional illustration will suffice to point to the intercultural, methodological problems for studying Black communication.

As was stated earlier, Black communication does not have content subservient to form. However, so much of what the academic stream of thought is concerned with is form. Consider for example the communication process in the traditional Afroamerican church. Many scientifically oriented researchers seem to be interested in classifying the various responses that are made by members of the congregation, documenting the rate of responses, etc. However, it is held here that the most important aspect of the communication process in the traditional Afroamerican church is the invisible factor that gives rise to this antiphonal pattern. Thus, it is held that a "Black" understanding of Black religious communication must first come to grips with the rudiments of African religion, mythology, and folklore -- all of which are in contradiction to the underpinnings of the academic stream of thought.

A final illustration is based upon Sidney Willhelm's discussion of scientific objectivity and scientific research. According to Willhelm,

> ..."Objectivity" is perhaps the foremost expression of the scientific spirit; detachment, a non-committal attitude, ranks as the hallmark for scientific inquiry.[1]

We can immediately see the intercultural problem of the scientific attitude of objectivity when one realizes that Black communication is best characterized

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[1]Sidney Willhelm, "Veliskovsky's Challenge to the Scientific Establishment" Pensee, Volume 3, Number 1, Winter, 1973, p.32.

by the opposites of the adjectives used in describing the scientific method. Black communication is subjective as opposed to objective. Black communication emphasizes personal involvement as opposed to detachment. Black communication involves an attitude of full commitment as opposed to non-commitment. A second quote from Willhelm might further define the problem that is being considered in this paper.

> ...one is expected to be a professional in order to implant objective scholarship, and this can only be accomplished by posing inquiries logically connected with established theories rather than coping with anomalies discovered within phenomena. Indeed, objectivity toward facts compels us to disguise facts; we are obliged to distance ourselves from the realm of data selected for examination in order to avoid any chance of bias in scientific discovery. Objectivity, then, moves us away from empirical validation and into theory -- with the fatal flaw that we engage in futile evaluation of rival hypothesis at the expense of facts. The professional scholar is one who is disturbed and whose curiosity is aroused not by the incongruity of evidence, but by formulation of hypotheses drawn from existing theory.[2]

With the above information in mind, one might be able to see how the problem of studying Black communication is even more methodologically confounded given the fact that existing communication theory does not take into consideration the primary assumptions of the African world view. Thus, the methodological problems facing those interested in studying Black communication can be summed up as follows:

1. Defining Black in a way that is consistent with an attitude of mind.

2. Convincing potential researchers that Blacks are not simply a neglected population that is either devoid of culture or is simply an incomplete form of the "dominant" culture.

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[2] Ibid., p. 33.

3. Developing research methodologies that are based upon primary assumptions that are the same as the primary assumptions that support Black communication.

One might note from this that an understanding of the integrated set of primary assumptions that make up the Black attitude of mind is key to research in Black communication. The question then arises, where is this Black attitude of mind to be found? While it was not the purpose of this paper to answer this question, one clue can be given. The researcher in Black communication must find and interact with Blacks who possess the greatest cultural weight, i.e., those Blacks who are "old" in terms of physical, mental, and spiritual development.

CULTURE TRAINING, COGNITIVE COMPLEXITY AND INTERPERSONAL ATTITUDES[1]

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The Problem: The Analysis of Intercultural Encounters

A major social problem of our time concerns the poor interpersonal relationships among individuals who belong to different cultures. Aggression is common across racial, ethnic, religious and linguistic boundaries. The problem can be seen vividly in the tensions of police-citizen relations of the American ghetto, the separation of Belgian universities by language, the communal conflict in Northern Ireland, the language riots of India and in many other settings. Even in situations where cooperation is highly desirable, such as when a husband-wife pair or a boss-subordinate pair consists of individuals from different cultures, or a clinician interacts with his client, cultural differences lead to major interpersonal difficulties. In numerous other settings--schools, industries, bars, hospitals, neighborhoods, city halls, and religious establishments--intercultural relations are difficult.

The present paper will examine some ideas which may prove helpful in improving intercultural relations. We define a cultural group as a group of individuals who speak a mutually understandable dialect. Such groups have unique ways of perceiving their social environment which Triandis et al. (1972) analyzed under the label "subjective culture." When people belong to different cultures or have different subjective cultures, interpersonal interaction is painfully unpleasant. However, when individuals are trained to understand the subjective culture of other groups there is some evidence of improved intergroup relationships (Fiedler, et al., 1971).

A common problem in cross-cultural encounters involves the expectations that people bring to social situations. For example, in most cultures servants do most of the domestic tasks, including the cleaning of shoes. However, in the United States clearning ladies typically do not clean shoes. Now if a person from another culture visits the U. S. and asks an American cleaning lady to clean his shoes, she is likely to perceive his request as inappropriate. The crucial question is, however, what attributions she makes concerning his behavior. If she attributes it to "ignorance of American customs" she may not be upset. On the other hand, if she attributes it to a personality syndrome (i.e., the visitor is domineering, or obnoxious), there will be damage to the interpersonal relationship.

More subtle difficulties arise when a person from another culture expects respect to be given to him because of his age, profession or other status, and expects this respect to be manifested in "different speech"--soft, polite, hesitant. An exuberant American is likely to be loud, and what is worse, critical, when the visitor deviates from his expectations. In such a case the damage to the relationship can be irreparable, when the person comes from a culture where superiors have been trained never to forget the "insubordination" of their subordinates.

Note that both of the above examples can be analyzed in terms of behaviors appropriate for a role. In the first, the visitor assumes that his role (master-servant) allows him to ask the cleaning lady to clean his shoes; the American cleaning lady-guest of the household role, however, is incompatible with this behavior. In the second example, the old to young man role, or the expert to apprentice role, leads the visitor to expect a particular quality in the interaction. When this is violated it produces problems.

Many of these problems are not immediately visible, because relations across cultures are often formal, polite and remote. Nevertheless, the cooperation pattern between individuals does suffer and the relations are not as effective as they might have been without these "unpleasant incidents." Any one of these incidents does not damage a relationship permanently, but a series of them often does, and one of the most common responses is flight. The disgusted visitor leaves and never returns.

Understanding these human interactions requires closer analysis.

The More Detailed Analysis

A major problem in intercultural behavior is that each interactor is unable to control the behavior of the other. He cannot do so because he does not understand the causes of the other's behavior. He does not know, for example, how the other analyzes his social environment and what constitutes a reward for the other. In short, he makes wrong attributions concerning the behavior of the other.

Effective intercultural relations require "isomorphic attributions." Isomorphic attributions correspond to the idea: "If I had been raised in that culture and had had the kinds of experiences that he has had, I would do exactly what he did." Since a person sees his own behavior as controlled by external factors (Jones & Nisbett, 1971), and usually reasonable, as well as desirable, isomorphic attributions result in a positive evaluation of the other.

Interpersonal competence means, in part, that a person is able to reinforce the other. In order for a person to reinforce another he needs to control resources. He also needs to know what is reinforcing to the other. In intercultural encounters, part of the difficulty stems from ignorance of what is reinforcing to the other. One knows what is reinforcing the other, in part, if one knows his subjective culture.

In intercultural exchanges we often do not know what is reinforcing, because we do not know the exact persons, situations, etc. which can make an exchange rewarding or unrewarding. The ability to make isomorphic attributions means exactly that--the person can correctly infer what is likely to be reinforcing, to what extent, under what conditions, etc., and hence he is able to reinforce the other.

An example from the files of Greek psychiatrist, George Vassiliou, will illustrate the role of attributions in intercultural behavior. It is well known that Greeks perceive supervisory roles as more "bossy" than do Americans who tend to favor participatory procedures (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972, in Triandis et al., 1972). When an American who favors employee participation interacts with a Greek who expects and wants a "bossy boss" one can get the sequence of behavior described by Vassiliou:

Behavior	Attribution
American: How long will it take you to finish this report?	American: I asked him to participate.
	Greek: His behavior makes no sense. He is the boss. Why doesn't he tell me?
Greek: I do not know. How long should it take?	American: He refuses to take responsibility.
	Greek: I asked him for an order.
American: You are in the best position to analyze time requirements.	American: I press him to take responsibility for own actions.
	Greek: What nonsense! I better give him an answer.
Greek: 10 days	American: He lacks the ability to estimate time; this time estimate is totally inadequate.

American: Take 15. Is it agreed, you will do it in 15 days?	American: I offer a contract. Greek: These are my orders: 15 days.

In fact the report needed 30 days of regular work. So the Greek worked day and night, but at the end of the 15th day, he still needed one more day's work.

Behavior	Attribution
American: Where is the report?	American: I am making sure he fulfills his contract. Greek: He is asking for the report. Both attribute that it is not ready.
Greek: It will be ready tomorrow.	
American: But we had agreed it would be ready today.	American: I must teach him to fulfill a contract. Greek: The stupid, incompetent boss! Not only did he give me the wrong orders, but he does not even appreciate that I did a 30-day job in 16 days.
The Greek hands in his resignation.	The American is surprised. Greek: I can't work for such a man.

The above example shows that at almost every point the behavior of one member of the intercultural dyad leads to an attribution which does not match the attribution of the actor. This is an extreme example of non-isomorphic attributions. In such situations the behavior of each is not under the control of reinforcements that the other can provide, since they are working at cross-purposes.

Isomorphic attributions are not an unmixed blessing. When a person "knows that he knows" what makes the other behave, he is likely to be able to control the other's reinforcements, and hence his behavior; but this kind of knowledge, in most human relationships, is still very limited. The other often does not behave as expected. When this happens among people who are supposed to be able to control each other, the effect on the relationship is devastating. In many families, when people think they have a good understanding of the bases of other peoples' behavior, such failure of prediction is the cause of irreparable damage to relationships. Thus, we note that in traditional Greek villages there are many more cases of brothers not being on speaking terms with each other, fathers disowning their children, brothers killing their sisters, etc. than occur in the United States. Here behavior which breaks norms leads to devastating interpersonal consequences.

In traditional societies there are often very strong norms for behaving according to ingroup norms. The traditional Greeks even have a special word, philotimos, to describe the person who behaves according to the norms of his ingroup. This is the most valued attribute of any human, and a random sample of Athenians used it to describe themselves, more frequently than any other attribute (Vassiliou, 1966).

It is easy to see why in traditional societies norms and roles are unusually clear and sanctions are certain. In such societies there is much greater interdependence among relatives. There are no insurance companies to take care of the sick and old; their relatives do. Thus, if these relatives were to behave unreliably, life would be characterized by uncertainty and anxiety. By having strong norms and enforcing them with violent certitude, people in such societies ensure that others do in fact behave according to norms.

One great difficulty in intercultural encounters occurs when the member from Culture A is used to weak norms, and the member from Culture B is used to strong norms, concerning a particular behavior. Here a person is likely to behave in ways which would be "inexcusable" from the other's perspective.

It is, thus, not only when norms are different that intercultural encounters can lead to interpersonal hostility. When the strength of the bonds between norms and behavior are not the same the effects can be just as serious. Norm disagreements, furthermore, are only one element that may cause problems.

To summarize then, effective intercultural behavior requires similar differentiations of the significant aspects of the social situation, accurate knowledge of the way one person differs in his attributions from another, accurate expectations, similar role definitions, and similar strengths in the connections between norms or roles on the one hand, and behavior on the other. The effective intercultural individual knows how to analyze the behavior of the other, and he focuses on the rewards and punishments which the other will experience for particular behaviors. He attributes such behavior to complex interactions of situational and subjective culture variables rather than merely to the culture of the other.

A Paradigm for Research on Intercultural Behavior

In order to explore the consequences of a person's behavior on another and also the determinants of a person's behavior in different cultural settings, it is necessary to have a paradigm which links the key determinants of interpersonal behavior to each other and to behavior. In the main paper which I have written for this occasion, I presented a set of equations which can constitute such a paradigm. Here, where I am presenting the material orally, I will be less precise. One major equation of the paradigm concerns

the relationship between behavior on the one hand, and habits, behavioral intentions and ability to perform the behavior on the other hand. The equation reads:

$$P_a = [\alpha H + \beta (BI)](Ab) \qquad \text{Equation 1}$$

where, P_a = probability of an act

H = habit

BI = behavioral intentions

Ab = ability

α and β are weights.

In words, it means that behavior is a function of habits which can be measured by the frequency with which the behavior has occurred in the past, behavioral intentions which can be measured by means of the Behavioral Differential (Triandis, 1964), and ability which reflects the extent to which the subject is able or skilled or capable to perform the behavior. In addition, two weights, alpha and beta, indicate the extent to which habits or behavioral intentions are important.

The paradigm claims that alpha and beta are a function of three parameters: (1) the personality of the subject; (2) the culture and (3) the social setting in which the behavior takes place. For example, authoritarian subjects in less differentiating cultures, behaving in a highly formal setting, such as at a religious meeting, will have an extreme alpha weight and a low beta weight in Equation 1. On the other hand, non-authoritarian subjects are likely to have smaller alpha weights, particularly if they belong to highly differentiating cultures.

The relative importance of two of these three components can be illustrated from the writer's experience with a Japanese lady psychologist. Here behavioral intentions and habits mixed to determine walking in an

interesting pattern. In a previous trip to Japan the writer had met this Japanese psychologist. Recognizing her, while crossing the street, he began a conversation while walking toward the hotel where an international congress was to take place. But we soon stopped walking. Analysis of the circumstances suggested the reason. The lady, in the proper Japanese manner, was in the habit of walking behind men; the writer, in the proper Western manner, was in the habit of walking at the same level or slightly behind a lady. Result: A clash of habits, which resulted in a standstill. At once, the writer's behavioral intentions took hold of his walking behavior: "In Rome you do as the Romans," hence, he walked slightly ahead, and progress was normal, until his attention to this matter no longer focused on walking and the well-established habits "unintentionally" again controlled his behavior. Again we came to a standstill. Again, the writer's behavioral intentions took hold of the behavior and again we made normal progress toward the hotel.

Here, then, we have an example of increasing and decreasing relative influence of behavioral intentions and habits, which could best be explained by a complex mathematical model, with feedback loops, and a switch from habits to behavioral intentions after every stop. Much behavior may well be under similar influences, and its mathematical description may require such a complex set of considerations.

Other equations of the paradigm spell out the determinants of behavioral intentions as functions of social pressures, affect towards the behavior and perceived consequences of the behavior. The problem of selectivity in perception is also discussed in the main paper which reviews methods for the measurement of each of the variables of the paradigm and examines several studies supportive of the paradigm.

Cognitive Complexity

Intercultural training increases the cognitive complexity of individuals in that it provides new ways of looking at the world which are isomorphic with the ways used by members of other cultures. Cultures differ in the amount of differentiation which characterizes them. Some differentiate a great deal among types of people, others among types of social exchanges, and still others within a particular type of social exchange. Two individuals will be able to interact effectively to the extent that they make similar differentiations. The main paper presents seven kinds of examples of dissimilarity in the differentiations made by members of one culture and those made by members of another culture, and examples of problems which stem from such dissimilarities.

Culture Training

It follows from this analysis that culture training should increase a person's ability to select from the social environment the cues that the Other uses as causes of his interpersonal behavior. These cues are events, linked, as specified by the paradigm, to each other and to behavior. To the extent that a person from Culture A can select the events selected by a person from Culture B and link them to each other and to the Other's behavior in the same way that persons from Culture B do this, the Person from A is making isomorphic attributions to the attributions made by members of Culture B. This also implies that a trained Person from Culture A will predict correctly the behavior of an Other from Culture B. In short, a good criterion of effective cultural training would be obtained if P were to give the same attributions of O's behavior that O gives about himself, and P were to predict O's actual behavior with considerable accuracy. The former condition, of course, assumes that O is not defensive and makes accurate attributions.

If O is defensive, an effective P should not be making isomorphic attributions, but simply accurate attributions of O's behavior.

To increase isomorphic attributions we employ a procedure for culture training developed by Stolurow, Osgood, Fiedler and Triandis called the culture assimilator. An account of the first validation studies involving this approach is presented by Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis (1971) and Mitchell, Dossett, Fiedler and Triandis (1972).

Briefly, the student of intercultural events is presented with one or two hundred "items" which give information about the other culture. Each item consists of six sheets of paper. On page 1 there is a journalistic description of an intercultural episode (incident), in which P, a member of Culture A, interacted with O, a member of Culture B, when there was some sort of interpersonal difficulty or misunderstanding. Page 2 presents four interpretations of what went wrong. These interpretations can be considered as attributions of the observed behavior. Only one of these attributions is correct, from the perspective of Culture B. Thus a member of Culture A has to find the one correct attribution, in a set of four, in which the other three are plausible and usually consistent with the attributions made by naive members of his own culture, but unacceptable or inaccurate, from the point of view of the other culture. The trainee selects the attribution that he considers correct and is then instructed to turn to one of the four remaining pages. If he selects the correct answer, when he turns to the appropriate page, he is praised and told why it is correct. If he selects the wrong answer, he finds on the appropriate page a mild criticism, such as "You did not read the episode sufficiently carefully" and he is instructed to read it again and select another answer.

Since the "correct" attributions were made by members of Culture B, this procedure increases the extent to which members from Culture A make attributions that are isomorphic with the attributions made by members of Culture B. Furthermore, as they learn to make "correct" attributions, it is probable that they become more and more able to predict the behavior of members of Culture B.

Another approach to cultural training is presented by David (1972). He argues that intercultural adjustment problems occur because P finds the other culture (B) unable to give him as many reinforcements as he is used to and likely to provide him with stimuli that he considers aversive. Thus, he proposes the utilization of training which can help P (a) attain reinforcements and avoid punishment, (b) transfer and modify present reinforcing systems, (c) develop new reinforcers and (d) change, neutralize or avoid punishers. He proposes the use of (a) modeling, (b) simulation of host culture conditions and (c) desensitization by counter-conditioning procedures.

There is little doubt that such approaches can be effective. The question is whether the expenditure of training time involved in such procedures can be reduced by providing the kinds of "cultural principles" that assimilator training makes readily accessible. Clearly, 10 hours of assimilator training will be like a "drop in the bucket," when compared to six months of language and culture training, as described by David. The question is whether there are any 10 hours of language and culture training that can increase the traveler's effectiveness as much as 10 hours of assimilator training. Our data, so far, suggest that assimilator training is effective, but limited by its relatively short and specific focus. It is a promising approach. This paper provides the theoretical rationale behind it. However, much more work remains to be done before we are certain that this is the best approach to intercultural training.

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Footnote

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COMMUNICATION IN PLURALISTIC SYSTEMS

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Overall, this paper proposes two things: first, that intercultural communication is a special case of the more general process of communication in pluralistic systems; and second, that research into the broader process is essential to a practical understanding of intercultural communication and to theories of communication in general. These proposals were triggered by an attempt to synthesize a great number of empirical studies, some of which are listed in the references at the end of this paper. The scope and implications of these proposals are outlined in the following six points.

1. The Prevalence and Isomorphism of Pluralisms

The literature on intercultural communication generally emphasizes exchanges between Blacks and Whites, Moslems and Hindus, and other bi-lateral relations. This often neglects the larger network of multi-lateral relations among Blacks, Whites, Chicanos, hardhats and the rest. It is seldom adequate to study inter-cultural communication as a bi-lateral exchange. Instead it is a poly-cultural network.

Most societies, communities, and organizations are pluralistic systems. Very few institutions are homogeneous unities. Nigeria is composed of Hausa and Fulani, Yoruba and Ibo. General Motors is composed of automobile factories, schools, banking facilities, and wealthier operations. The United States is Black and White, and Red, Yellow and Brown. And universities are actually pluriversities.

A pluralistic system is a confederation of separate but interdependent groups. The nature of the confederation and of the group is highly variable, and so is the network of relationships among other groups. Nevertheless, there are common denominators. There is an isomorphism of pluralism. There are structural similarities between such differing pluralistic systems as a Texas conglomorate and an African state, or the National Football League and

a coalition of interest groups in the Democratic Party. New nations and new conglomerates face the same problems of establishing a unity of goals and loyalties out of the diverse groups they bring together. The leaders of new nations and of new conglomerates are probably alike in a number of essential characteristics. All pluralistic systems have many problems as well as structures in common. They all generally face the same problems of unity and diversity, problems of centralization and local autonomy, problems of uniformity and variation, problems of freedom and control, and of survival and growth.

Intercultural communication is a subdivision of this larger and more general field of communication in pluralistic systems.

2. Variability in Kinds of Groups

Communication within pluralistic systems varies with the kinds of groups involved. We do not yet have an adequate taxonomy of such groups. We can, however, anticipate some of the basic types of groups that multivariate analyses are likely to reveal. Here we need consider some polar extremes. Some groups may be small and homogeneous like a Mexican village, basically a fairly intimate Gemeinschaft. At the other extreme is the larger more diversified and less intimate Gesellschaft of an industrial city. Some groups will be more closed,with relatively impermeable boundaries, often authoritarian and with unilateral communication; while others are more open, with less defined boundaries and more bilateral communication. Naturally, different groups are open and closed in different ways: a group may be closed socially, but open economically. A third pair of polar group characteristics may be low mobility and high mobility. This may be like the distinction between intense and non-intense peoples of Asia that Premier Lee of Singapore speaks of.

Although we do not have a taxonomy of groups as yet, it is quite clear that communication in pluralistic systems varies with the kinds of groups in

those systems. A synthesis of empirical studies of pluralistic systems also suggest most strongly that the criteria for classifying groups will be the same for the components of a Texas conglomerate or of a nation in Africa. Homogeneity, openness, and mobility are likely to be significant variables affecting communication among groups in any pluralistic system. The specific ways they affect communication will be evident in later points.

3. Variability in Kinds of Relations

Communication throughout the larger network varies not only with kind of group but also with kind of relations among these groups. Here we are concerned with the relations among the groups in the larger system rather than the kinds of relations that exist within any one group. Although we are still in the process of developing a taxonomy of these relations, we can anticipate that the basic ones are likely to include the following three sets of extremes. First is a tripartite division among competitive, cooperative, and coercive relations. Second is the pair of polarities between confrontation and conflict resolution. And third are the extremes of authoritative and participative relations. Very often we have to regard the type of relations within the larger system from the point of view of one of the units in the system, because different units often have different conceptions of the structure of the larger whole. One group may feel that the system is more competitive while another thinks it is more cooperative. In the collegial governance of many universities the relations among departments and colleges is participative while the relations among divisions, regiments and armies in a military system is more authoritative. Some types of groups have a tendency to emphasize some types of relations. A closed group is more likely to operate well in a series of authoritarian relations while an open group is more likely to operate well in a series of participative relations.

4. Variability and Channels

As we look at larger social systems, such as a world-wide network of intercultural communication the channels of communication tend to become more and more formal. A small homogeneous group can be more informal, relying on personal relations and internalized norms. The larger the group the more general the rules for the group must be, and we have to deal with relations among statuses as as established in official contracts and constitutions. Nevertheless, there continues to be the need for informal channels and there is a continuing switching back and forth among channels that are more formal than those that are less formal. The kind of switching varies to a great extent with the kind of group and the kind of relations among groups. Yet the channel switching does follow a standardized sequence. It begins with an exploration of the situation and this is done through more informal channels. We first explored informally with the Soviet Union whether a new trade agreement is negotiable. If the exploration or diagnosis is somewhat successful or promising, then it is confirmed and legitimatized through formal channels. Informal channels are used for exploration whereas the formal channels are used for validation and legitimization. In these sequences the function of the formal channels is to reduce the alternatives, to reduce the variety of possible behavior. The formal channels serve to bring situations back to a standard, through some regularity. The function of the informal channels is to increase the variety. That is why they are used to explore and open up new things. They are also used when the formal is too reducing, too restrictive. When the formal channels lead to a run-around, we return to informal channels to open things up again.

Some kinds of groups and relations work better in a system that emphasizes formal channels while other groups and relations operate with more informal channels. A closed group that also codes matters in clear cut distinctions of black and white generally tends to emphasize formal channels while a more

open group that is more tolerant of ambiguity and complexity may more readily utilize informal channels for exploration. As for different channels going with different relations, when the relations among the groups in the larger system are primarily competitive, then there is an increase in the use of informal channels of communication between them. Competition reduces communication at least on the formal level and requires such informal channels as are provided by spies and unofficial go-betweens. Relations that are cooperative but authoritative rather than participative are likely to emphasize formal channels.

5. Transfer of Information.

In attempting to synthesize the empirical studies it becomes evident that transfer of information is at least as important as channel switching in pluralistic systems. This is a matter of carrying experience over from one situation to another. It is a form of pooling of information and of learning from experience. This is one of the reasons why companies merge into larger conglomerates. It is also an essential part of the third culture idea in intercultural communication. Consider the Peace Corps volunteer who has served in Peru and returned to the United State to work in community programs in inner cities. To what extent is the experience and information gained in Peru applicable in the inner city? The third culture in intercultural communication suggests that there are cultural brokers and change agents who are neither of the U. S. committment nor of the Peruvian committment, but something in between, and something that is equally applicable between Hindus and Moslems. The concept assumes the isomorphism of pluralistic systems.

Prior experience is almost like feedback in that it can be negative or positive. Very often prior learning has an inhibitory or negative affect. We have to unlearn our Peruvian experience before we can learn to operate in the inner city. When there is a positive transfer of information it is based

on the similarity between the previous case and the new one.

Even here it is especially important to learn the basic principles that are involved in the two cases. When boys are taught to hit a target 12" under water and one group of boys is also taught the principles of refraction, that group will learn much faster. When we want to capitalize on the transfer of information in pluralistic systems we need to emphasize the principles, such as the variation with groups, relations and channels as indicated above. We also have to beware of invoking the transfer of information in order to cover up non-functional information. We used to teach Latin with the idea that it strengthened the mind and even if we did not use the Latin there was a transfer of information to other studies. This may have been a cover up for the nonfunctionality of Latin, and it is possible that even a Peruvian experience is nonfunctional in other settings.

6. Closing Pluralistic Systems

One overall function of communication in a pluralistic system is to develop a larger closed system. Here a closed system is one that is self-regulating while an open system is regulated by outside forces. The larger the system the more likely it can be self-regulating. In a bilateral relationship between Moslems and Hindus there are likely to be many outside forces at work including the Moslem relations with other Semitic peoples and with the United States. When the Moslem and Hindu relations are regarded as only part of a larger pluralistic system, they become more intelligible. Communication requires that each subsystem is opened up so that it can interact with other subsystems, but it thereby closes the larger pluralistic system.

Types of groups and relations, channel switching and information transfer are some common denominators in the variety of pluralistic systems. A special case of these variables and processes is intercultural communication.

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APPLICATIONS: CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING AND

THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS WORKSHOP

The Intercultural Communications Workshop, which is discussed in two of the following papers, is in its most common form a relatively intensive two or three day residential seminar/discussion program. It usually consists of from 20-40 participants roughly half of whom are American college students and half of whom are students from other countries. The program includes lectures, films, and exercises such as role playing and simulations which take place sometimes in small and sometimes large groups. One basic aim of the workshop is to provide the participants the opportunity through their own interactions to deepen their understanding and enhance their awareness of the role culture plays in intercultural relations -- this both from their own and from others' perspectives.

CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING PROGRAMS AND THEIR EVALUATION

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EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMS

A. THE CULTURE ASSIMILATOR

Social scientists at the University of Illinois have developed and evaluated the culture assimilator. This technique has been subjected to more empirical study than any other training method. The information presented here was gathered from several summary statements of the research (Triandis, 1968; Fiedler, 1969; Mitchell and Triandis, 1970) and the work of Foa and Chemers (Foa and Chemers, 1967; Mitchell and Foa, 1968; Chemers, 1968).

1. Goals and Content

The goal of assimilator training is to prepare trainees for specific interpersonal situations in a specific country. In addition, training should "expose members of one culture to some of the basic concepts, attitudes, role perceptions, customs and values of another culture" (Fiedler et al., 1970, p. 1). Since training is culture-specific, there is a different assimilator for every pair of cultures. That is, assimilators are designed so that members of one given culture (e.g., USA), learn about another (e.g., Iran).

The culture assimilator is a reading exercise comprised of a series of episodes that previous visitors to a given country have labeled as problem situations. Each episode describes an interaction between a visitor (Americans, in the examples below) and a host national. After reading about the interaction, the trainee selects from among four different interpretations. If the trainee makes the right choice that best explains the interaction, he is praised and then asked to study the next incident. If he makes a mistake, he is directed to read why his choice is wrong and asked to restudy the episode and make another choice. Trainees proceed at their own rate, and no trainee can proceed

beyond any one incident until he has discovered the correct interpretation of that interaction between people.

Assimilators have been developed for the Arab countries, Thailand, Iran, Greece, India, and Honduras. An assimilator for black-white relations within the USA is being developed under Prof. Fiedler, now at the University of Washington. The interaction incidents are validated by asking host nationals to give the correct answer, without seeing any of the alternatives. The host nationals also indicate how important the story is and how frequently they feel it might occur. All incidents must score high on these ratings. After these indices of agreement, importance, and probable occurrence are used to discard non-useful incidents, the assimilator contains 75 to 100 episodes, from an original pool of 150 to 200.

The example below is from the Thai assimilator (Fiedler et al., 1969, pp. 4-7). The numbers (X-1, X-2, etc.) refer to different pages in the readers' booklet of incidents and interpretations. The incident:

Page X-1

> One day a Thai administrator of middle academic rank kept two of his assistants waiting about an hour for an appointment. The assistants, although very angry, did not show it while they waited. When the administrator walked in at last, he acted as if he were not late. He made no apology or explanation. After he was settled in his office, he called his assistants in and they all began working on the business for which the administrator had set the meeting.

The four alternatives, one of which explains the incident, are then presented:

> If you had happened to observe the incident exactly as it is reported in this passage, which one of the following would you say describes the chief significance of the behavior of the people involved?
>
> 1. The Thai assistants were extremely skillful at concealing their true feelings.
>
> Go to Page X-3
>
> 2. The Thai administrator obviously was unaware of the fact that he was an hour late for the appointment.
>
> Go to Page X-4

3. In Thailand, subordinates are required to be polite to their superiors, no matter what happens, nor what their rank may be.

Go to Page X-5

4. Clearly, since no one commented on it, the behavior indicated nothing of any unusual significance to any of the Thais.

Go to Page X-6

Trainees then turn to the page indicated by the alternative they chose.

Page X-3

You selected 1: The Thai assistants were extremely skillful at concealing their true feelings.

This is not entirely correct.

It is quite characteristic of Thais to try to appear reserved under any circumstances. If the assistants were extremely skillful at concealing their true feelings, would you know that you were not seeing their true feelings? Also, does the reference to the chief significance of the behavior of "the people involved" limit it to the assistant?

Go to Page X-1

Page X-4

You selected 2: The Thai administrator obviously was unaware of the fact that he was an hour late for the appointment.

A very poor choice.

While the administrator acted as if he were unaware of his tardiness after observing the hour's wait, don't you suspect that perhaps he was acting?

Go to Page X-1

Page X-5

You selected 3: In Thailand, subordinates are required to be polite to their superiors, no matter what happens, nor what their rank may be.

Very good. You are utilizing the information in the episodes to its fullest extent. Continue. This is the correct response.

To some extent their "deference to the boss" may be observed almost anywhere in the world, but you are far more likely to find it carried to a higher degree in Thailand than in the United States.

There were certain clues to help you select 3: the assistants' concealed feelings, the administrator's failure to apologize, the fact that no one mentioned the tardiness, and the subsequent keeping of the appointment which the administrator had set.

Did you use them at all?

What you have already learned from earlier sections of the culture assimilator can help you. What did you learn about respect for older and higher status persons in Thailand? And about the attitude of students toward an American professor?

Go to Page Y-1
(the next incident)

Page X-6

You selected 4: Clearly, since no one commented on it, the behavior indicated nothing of any unusual significance to any of the Thais.

This is completely wrong.

While the behavior reported in the passage does not seem as significant for the Thais in this relationship as it might be to Americans, why was nothing said about the tardiness? And why were the assistants "very angry" although they "did not show it?"

Isn't there a more significant level of meaning for this behavior?

Go to Page X-1

Foa and Chemers (1967) suggested that success in cross-cultural interaction may be dependent upon knowledge of the differentiation of roles in different countries. For instance, in some countries residents do not distinguish the role of a woman and the role of a high-status leader. Women can never be leaders in some countries. In certain countries (e.g., USA), people can have a heated argument in the role of work partners and then go happily off to a social engagement together. This role differentiation does not occur in the Mid-East.

2. Evaluation

Studies reviewed by Fiedler et al. (1970) and another by Nayar, Touzard, and Summers (1968), supported the usefulness of assimilator training. Two laboratory studies using Arab and Thai assimilators compared USA subjects who had received training with other subjects who

had received instruction only in geography. The "geography" subjects were a control group for effects of attention, or simply getting any training no matter what the content. Data from both studies showed that assimilator training lessened interpersonal and adjustment problems (as rated by the Americans themselves) in actual contact between Americans and foreign nationals.

The one field study that has been conducted compared teenage volunteer workers in Honduras who had received assimilator training with those who had not. An independent performance measure, made by the program director and his staff members, was the major criterion or dependent variable. Adjustment measures were also gathered from the teenagers themselves. Results showed that the assimilator-trained groups were superior on both measures to the groups who had not received assimilator training. An unexpected finding was that teenagers who had participated in the project the previous year had better performance ratings than first-year volunteers. This finding may indicate that assimilator training helps people who have already spent time in a foreign country to integrate their cultural experiences.

3. Problems

1. Not enough field assessment has been done, as the developers have pointed out.

2. The best content for assimilators has not been determined. Should they contain information about interpersonal attitudes, customs, value contrasts, etc., or some mix?

3. If similarities between the cultures are to be emphasized, there is little data to show what types of topics should bring out the similarities. Furthermore, it is difficult to determine when similarities or differences between cultures should be emphasized.

4. Evaluation to date has been conducted using subjects of high motivation and/or intelligence (college and high school student volunteers). These people may not be typical of the average American enlisted man.

4. Future Goals

Triandis (1968) indicated the following goals for future assimilator training:

1. Make the assimilator more flexible to the individual trainee's needs.

2. Present information so as not to arouse defensiveness and hostility.

3. Emphasize the most attractive aspects of the foreign culture.

4. Provide the trainee with skills in effective interaction, flexibility in response to different situations, ability to suspend judgment, and appreciation of cultural differences.

The culture assimilator seems to be a valuable tool and can easily become a part of operational programs.

B. HUMRRO'S CONTRAST-AMERICAN TECHNIQUE AND PROJECT COPE

The Army-supported Human Resources Research Office (HumRRO) has developed the Contrast-American technique and is currently working on the closely related Project COPE. The Contrast-American technique consists of a role-playing encounter between a USA resident and a person of another, mythical, culture. Members of this mythical culture hold values in complete contrast to those of Americans, hence the title of the technique. Through interaction with such a person, it is hoped that Americans will develop a self-awareness of their own beliefs, values, and cultural background. This work is documented in several sources (Stewart, 1966, 1967a, 1967b; Stewart and Pryle, 1966; Danielian, 1967; Danielian and Stewart, 1967; Hoehn, 1968; Kraemer 1969; Stewart, Danielian, and Foster, 1969).

1. Goals

Kraemer (1969) presented the belief that increasing self-awareness will increase cross-cultural understanding.

"...training for international assignments might be improved by the inclusion of a process designed to develop the trainee's 'cultural self-awareness,' that is, his awareness of the cultural nature of his own cognitions, particularly of the various subtle ways in which his own cultural background will influence him in his interaction with host-country nationals. This means that the trainee would become aware that many of his cognitions, previously thought 'natural' or 'normal,' and therefore universal, may not be shared by members of another culture." (p. 2)

Kraemer then presented the goals that the training should implement:

"This training, if its effects carry over into the field, should contribute in many ways to the individual's ability to communicate. It should make him aware of how little he knows about the cognitions of host-country nationals and cause him to make fewer false assumptions about these cognitions; it should lead him to suspend judgment of host-country nationals and their culture when confronted by behavior that he cannot interpret; it should help him develop a preference for seeking cultural explanations of difficulties in communicating with host-country nationals rather than explanations in terms of individual shortcomings on their part; and it should motivate him to keep on learning more about their cognitions during his entire stay in the host country. His awareness of the cultural nature of his own cognitions should enable him to recognize other cultural alternatives more readily." (p. 2)

This culture-general approach, Stewart et al. (1969) point out, should be the basis for only one segment rather than the entire content of a cross-cultural training program.*

2. Content and Trainees

Thirty-five Westinghouse Corporation executives have undergone the Contrast-American training under the director of HumRRO personnel. Data gathered from them will be reviewed in the next section. In addition, Peace Corps trainees and Army officers at Ft. Bragg have participated in the development of the criterion tests. Army personnel have also participated in role-play encounters.

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*The issue of cultural-general versus cultural-specific training is discussed in Section VII.

The American is asked to interact with an actor trained to portray values in contrast to those familiar in the USA. For instance, where Americans are optimistic and strive for goals, the Contrast-American is portrayed as fatalistic, believing that his actions have little or no impact on his surroundings.

American Values	Contrast-American Values
Stress material goals	Stress spiritual goals
Achieved status	Ascribed status at birth
Competition viewed as constructive	Competition viewed as destructive
Anticipation of the future	Remembrance of past
Place reliance on self	Place reliance on superiors and patrons

Role-play situations* are then arranged so that some of the values of both the Americans and contrast-culture member will become clear. For instance, (Stewart et al., 1969, pp. 30-31):

> "One of the scenes was designed around the topic of leadership. During one of the simulations of this scene, Captain Smith, the American role-player, tried to persuade the Contrast-American I, Major Khan, to take measures to improve leadership in his battalion. Captain Smith found fault with some of the techniques utilized by some of Major Khan's second lieutenants.
>
> "American: And I know that ... if they are allowed to continue, then the efficiency in the duties that they're performing, or their soldiers are performing, will be reduced.
>
> "Contrast-American: What kind of duties are they performing which are not good?
>
> "American: They have an inability, I think, to communicate with noncommissioned officers and to properly supervise the accomplishment of the task. They almost have the attitude that this work is the type of work which they should not take part in; they should merely stand by and watch. I know you have a big respect for General George Washington and I should point out this example.

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*The role-playing technique is discussed in Section IV.

One time during the War for Independence, there was a sergeant with some artillery pieces which were stuck. He was standing by, very neat and clean in his uniform, cajoling his soldiers as they looked at him, and shouting for them to push harder to get this cannon out of the mud. General Washington rode by on his horse, noticed this situation and stopped. His rank was not showing, for he had a large cape on over his uniform; it was rather cold that day and had been raining. He asked the sergeant what the problem was, and the sergeant told him, 'Sir, the soldiers cannot get this cannon out of the mud.' Then General Washington dismounted from his horse, walked over and assisted the soldiers in pushing the cannon out. Afterward he walked over to the sergeant and said, 'Sergeant, tell your commander that General Washington has assisted your men in pushing the cannon from the mud.'

"Contrast-American: Yes.

"American: He was willing to assist his men and do anything that they were doing if it were really necessary.

"Contrast-American: Perhaps if he were not in a disguise, not wearing a cape, if he were in his uniform of a general, he would never have come down from (dismounted from) the horse. He would have waited there as a General.

"American: I think--

"Contrast-American: --people would have gotten extra energy while pulling that cannon, they would have looked at him, that big, tall, towering General sitting on a horse, they would have looked at him and derived all inspiration and strength from him, and then pulled out the cannon without his assistance. His very presence would have been enough."

This episode brings out the American desire to "get the job done" and the Contrast-American's desire to maintain the status relation between the officer and his men. After the encounter, trainees receive feedback about their behavior by means of discussions with the trainer. Current efforts at HumRRO under Project COPE are concerned with the development of video-taped instruction so that:

1. Many people can receive training by viewing the tapes, and
2. No instructors will be needed.

3. Evaluation

Thirty-five Westinghouse executives completed four tests prior to and 5 days, 9 months, and 21 months after training, making a total of 16 tests for each subject.

Type A tests measured ability to identify values of Contrast-Americans.

Type B tests measured ability to predict behavior of Contrast-Americans.

Type C tests measured knowledge of American predispositions.

Type D tests measured affective (liking) reactions to American and Contrast-American orientations.

The reliability of the tests was adequate as determined by pretesting with samples of Army officers and Peace Corps trainees.

	Test Period After Training		
Type of Test	5 Days	9 Months	21 Months
A. Identify Values	Gain		Gain Not Sustained
B. Predict Behavior	4 pt. Gain		Gain Maintained
C. American Predisposition	No Gain		
D. Liking Reactions		Some Gain	

On B tests, as shown here, there was a four-point gain from the test taken five days after training as compared with the before-training tests. This gain was maintained 21 months after training. Since the range of the test was 0 to 16, this represents a substantial gain. For type A tests, there was a gain after training but it did not hold up as well as type B after 21 months. Type C test gains were minimal. Exact numbers for test D were not reported, although a statistically insignificent trend (gain) after training was mentioned. Note that the most significant gains (test B) were in the area of behavior prediction rather than attitudes. Roth (1969) feels that training in such behavior is possible, while training to change attitudes may be impossible in the short time allotted for cross-cultural instruction.

Subjective reaction by trainees was reported to be favorable. An interesting note was that the audience reacted more positively when

the intercultural aspects of overseas work were studied. In other words, this information may have given the trainees a proper set for learning.

4. Problems

1. The HumRRO work has developed without any data on the assumptions underlying the program. For instance, Stewart et al. (1969, p. 4) say:

> "While the ultimate desired product of such training is, of course, effective behavior, there is no attempt to teach solutions directly or to provide models for behavior. The purpose is to deal with the cognitive-affective components that underlie behavior, recognizing that increased understanding and awareness provide the trainee with greater capability and flexibility in meeting the intercultural situation effectively."

No rationale is given for not "teaching solutions or to provide models." The other elements, teaching solutions and providing models, may be more important than the elements of the present program.

2. Kraemer (1969) mentioned that role players complained because they did not have sufficient instructions of a specific nature. This may indicate that culture-specific training would be more acceptable to the trainees. It is interesting to note that Stewart (now at the University of Delaware) directs a cross-cultural training program preparing Catholic nuns for overseas assignment. In an in-house document by Stewart and Rhinesmith (1969), a program for orientation into the Bengali culture was outlined. The training was quite specific, dealing with life, festival, daily chronological, and social events. Perhaps when actual programs are set up (rather than the experimental work reviewed here), the need for specific training becomes clear.

3. With such little data it is difficult to comment on the Contrast-American technique. All that can be done is to present a summary of the program, hoping that it will be evaluated for use with military personnel. Even assuming that the data from Westinghouse executives is adequate, it does not follow that the technique will benefit the younger and less-well educated American soldier.

C. THE SELF-CONFRONTATION TECHNIQUE

At Wright-Patterson Air Force Base several psychologists of the Training Research Laboratory conducted a research program in cross-cultural interaction during the mid-1960s. The technique they emphasized was called "self-confrontation." A trainee played a role with another person in a simulated cross-cultural encounter, the entire episode being video-taped. After the role playing, the trainee and trainer played back the tape (the "confrontation"), criticizing weak points in both verbal and nonverbal behavior. Trainees then played the role again so that learning could be measured. The technique has been documented in many publications, and these provided the information presented below. (Haines, 1964; Haines and Eachus, 1965; Eachus, 1965, 1966; Eachus and King, 1966; King, 1966, 1967a, 1967b; Gael, 1967).

1. Experimental Method and Evaluation

Three experiments were conducted. Study 1 used college undergraduates as subjects, study 2 used military volunteers, and study 3 used officers (First Lieutenants through Lieutenant Colonels) from a Psychological Operations and Civic Action (POCA) course. The first two studies compared a self-confrontation group of trainees against a control group who read descriptions of the other culture. The third study did not have a control group, but compared the performance of the officers to subjects from studies 1 and 2.

In the first two studies, self-confrontation subjects read introductory material about a fictitious "country X" and a description of the role-play situation suggesting specific verbal and nonverbal behaviors that would lead to effective interaction. The following passage is an example of this material (Eachus and King, 1966, p. 4).

> "You will play the part of Captain Brown, the head of a United States Air Force Mobile Training.... The team is to train certain components of the Country "X" Air Force in the latest air-drop and night-flying operations. You are in an extremely important position requiring not only technical skill, but also interpersonal skill in dealing with personnel in the Air Force of Country "X"....the failure of the Americans to observe or respect traditional Country "X" customs and protocol usually is misunderstood and misinterpreted. Such circumstances could seriously affect the success of the training mission."

The experimental subjects then role played, had their video tape criticized, and role played again. Control subjects were given reading material for the same amount of time that role-play subjects spent being taped and criticized. Control subjects then role played so that a comparison could be made between their performance and the experimental subjects.

In the second role-play situation, self-confrontation (experimental) subjects performed better in verbal and nonverbal behaviors than the subjects who had spent the early part of the experiment reading. The experimenters interpreted this as showing the value of the self-confrontation technique. In addition, the self-confrontation subjects retained more than 90 percent of their learning measured at the end of a two-week interval.

In the third study, the Air Force officers did not study "country X." Rather, they studied Iran. Their interaction with an actor simulating an Iranian was video-taped and then replayed so that criticisms could be made. The officers showed an increase in learning from the first to the second role play encounter. They performed better on both these occasions than the subjects in studies 1 and 2. The experimenters interpreted this finding as showing that the officers were more highly motivated and were representative of a more select population. No retention data was gathered. The experimenters had hoped to measure behavior during actual overseas assignment of these and/or similar officers, but funds for the project were discontinued.

2. Problems

Although the Air Force researchers claimed highly favorable results for the Self-Confrontation technique, some questions can be raised about alternative explanations.

1. Self-confrontation subjects might have done better than control subjects in the second role playing encounter simply because they were more familiar and comfortable with the video-tape equipment. Rather than any cultural learning during the first encounter and subsequent criticism, self-confrontation subjects may have been more

self-assured than the control subjects. The control subjects, after all, were taped only once, the experimental subjects twice.

2. The officer subjects in study 3 interacted with a person from an actual country, Iran, rather than "country X." They may have performed better than earlier subjects not because they were from a more select population but because they were interested in studying a real country. This criticism is similar to the one made of the HumRRO contrast-culture technique. The writer feels that using material about a real country would arouse more interest and encourage more learning than using materials about mythical cultures.

3. The retention data taken only two weeks after the first training session seems inadequate since, in actual assignment, people must interact with foreign nationals months and years after training.

4. No estimates were reported in the write-ups of the program, but it seems that the cost of the technique may be prohibitive for use in training large numbers of people, thus making it impractical.

The Self-Confrontation technique needs more evaluation to show if it is indeed useful for cross-cultural training.

TRAINING APPROACHES

A. INFORMATION FROM PEACE CORPS RESEARCH

Like the Department of Defense, the Peace Corps has supported programs to prepare Americans for assignments in foreign countries. Several studies have been conducted on Peace Corps training programs for different countries. These studies are valuable, especially since several findings have been discovered by different investigations working independently, and since the findings, within limits, are applicable to DOD programs.

1. At the end of training and before deployment overseas, administrators of Peace Corps programs evaluate the potential success of volunteers. Several independent investigators (Guthrie and Zektick, 1967; Stein, 1963; Smith, Fawcett, Ezekiel, and Roth, 1963) have shown that evaluations at end of training do not correlate (have no relation) to evaluation of performance in the field. In the Guthrie and Zektick (1967) study, Peace Corps volunteers on assignment in the Philippines were evaluated there by both American officials and host nationals. Neither rating of effectiveness correlated with the volunteer's success measured after training back in the USA. Guthrie (1969) explains these findings by pointing out that the expectations about behavior and ways to obtain rewards in the USA are well known to its residents. After assignment to another culture, however, expectations and rewards are much less clear. It seems that the person effective in the USA is not necessarily effective in the different environment of the foreign culture. An anecdote may help this explanation. Many people have heard stories about missionaries who were rated average or ineffective in a USA big-city church but who were very comfortable and productive in primitive villages overseas. These missionaries were able to meet the expectations of the village but not the big city.

The important point is that assessment of knowledge or predicted effectiveness after training in the USA is not sufficient. Assessment must be carried out in the host country if at all possible.

2. Arnold (1967) established a program to provide training during assignment in the host culture. Noting that American volunteers had adjustment problems, especially during the first six months, Arnold started discussion groups. All Peace Corps members in a certain area were brought together frequently to discuss any issue that they desired. Adjustment and "culture shock" problems were often brought up. In addition, the meetings provided social support for the members. Arnold noted that the number of premature returns (volunteers who go back to USA before their two-year assignment is up) for the discussion group members was only 25 percent of the figure for nonparticipating volunteers in similar cultures. The comparison data was from Thomson and English (1963, 1964). This criterion is not perfect, of course, but it does provide a behavioral measure that is more valuable than asking the discussion group members how much they like their assignment.

The important point to be remembered from the Peace Corps experience is that training before assignment should be complemented by additional training at different times during residence in the foreign culture.

3. Several researchers (Thomson and English, 1963; Dobyns, Doughty, and Holmberg, 1965) have investigated the satisfaction and effectiveness of volunteers during their assignment. Their findings include:

a. Volunteers who are able to use their skills (e.g., teacher, farmer) are more satisfied than volunteers who are assigned to a job in which their skills are not needed. The premature return rate was lower for those using needed skills.

b. Volunteers who are skillful in the language of the host culture, and/or who interact frequently with host nationals, are more effective as measured by the number of projects implemented.

These points indicate that cross-cultural training should complement skill training (a point also made by R. Campbell, 1969) since people may be unhappy if their skills are not used in the host country. The findings also indicate that training should emphasize language skills and encourage interaction with host nationals.

4. Kerrick, Clark, and Rice (1967) and Haigh (1966) investigated certain cross-cultural training techniques. Haigh suggested that trainees spend time in an American subculture (e.g., a ghetto area, Appalachian Mountain community) prior to overseas assignment. Haigh's group of volunteers worked on an American Indian reservation as part of their training. This is similar to the recommendation (Guthrie, 1963; Bennington, 1958) that a foreign national be a part of the training team. Unfortunately, the only evaluation of Haigh's (1966) suggestion is the enthusiastic response by the trainees.

Kerrick et al. (1967) found that a lecture was more effective than a discussion group in persuading Peace Corps volunteers to adopt certain health practices. This apparently contradicts the earlier discussion of Lewin's (1947) and Coch's and French's (1948) work. The reconciliation comes when it is explained that volunteers did not have much to say about health practices since they were still learning about them. The subjects in the Lewin and Coch-French studies knew their material and could discuss it. The important point is that group discussion will be effective only when the trainees know enough about the topic to discuss it.

B. THE UNIVERSITY-ALTERNATIVE MODEL

The article by Harrison and Hopkins (1967), presenting a cross-cultural training model different from most university learning, has become very popular. The article has won an award, has been reprinted several times (e.g., Peace Corps, 1969; Wight, 1969), has been the basis for a dissertation (Bolton, 1969), and has been frequently cited. It was written with Peace Corps training in mind, but its arguments are applicable to all cross-cultural learning.

1. Content

Harrison and Hopkins charge that traditional university learning, the location of most Peace Corps training, is inadequate for cross-cultural problems. The greatest weakness is that university learning does not deal with interpersonal relations, that is, the human rather than technical aspects of overseas work. The goals of university and cross-cultural education, and methods of learning, are presented side-by-side to emphasize the need for new training techniques. Some examples:

University Education	Overseas Education
Communication	Communication
To communicate fluently via the written word and, to a lesser extent, to speak well. To master the languages of abstraction and generalization, e.g., mathematics and science. To understand readily the reasoning, the ideas, and the knowledge of other persons through verbal exchange.	To understand and communicate directly and often nonverbally through movement, facial expression, person-to-person actions. To listen with sensitivity to the hidden concerns, values, motives of the other. To be at home in the exchange of feelings, attitudes, desires, fears. To have a sympathetic, empathic understanding of the feelings of the other.
Problem Solving	Problem Solving
A problem is solved when the true, correct, reasonable answer has been discovered and verified. Problem solving is a search for knowledge and truth. It is a largely rational process, involving intelligence, creativity, insight, and a respect for facts.	A problem is solved when decisions are made and carried out which effectively apply people's energies to overcoming some barrier to a common goal. Problem solving is a social process involving communication, interpersonal influence, consensus, and commitment.
Source of Information	Source of Information
Information comes from experts and authoritative sources through the media of books, lectures, audio-visual presentations. "If you have a question, look it up."	Information sources must be developed by the learner from the social environment. Information-gathering methods include observation and questioning of associates, other learners, and chance acquaintances.

University Education	Overseas Education
Role of Emotions and Values	Role of Emotions and Values
Problems are largely dealt with at an ideational level. Questions of reason and of fact are paramount. Feelings and values may be discussed but are rarely acted upon.	Problems are usually value- and emotion-laden. Facts are often less relevant than the perceptions and attitudes which people hold. Values and feelings have action consequences, and actions must be taken.

Harrison and Hopkins then list the goals of their proposed program. Trainees should:

1. Develop ability to become more independent of external sources of information and problem definition,
2. Develop ability to deal with feelings created by value conflicts,
3. Be able to make decision in stressful situations,
4. Be able to use own and others' feelings as information.

A training program was then established for 82 Peace Corps volunteers being assigned to Ecuador, Chile, and Bolivia. The ten-week training program had these characteristics:

1. From their arrival, the trainees would be encouraged to participate actively in the planning of their program. In fact, in a sense, there would be no program unless they planned it by determining what kind of training program was needed in order to reach the objectives they had formulated.

2. Formal classroom lectures would be played down; small-group interaction would be played up, as would informal interaction of all kinds.

3. Except for Spanish (four hours a day) and weekly evaluation sessions (to be discussed later), attendance at the "happenings" of the program would not be compulsory.

4. An effort would be made to do away with component labels and thus to "integrate" the elements of the program.

5. The program would be "experience-based." There would be ample opportunities furnished for "doing things," such as organizing and operating co-ops, raising chickens and pigs, planting and tending gardens, approaching "academic" subjects through research projects, and so on. Trainees with needed skills would be urged to teach them to others, formally or informally. The emphasis, in short, was to be on trainee activity, not passivity.

6. Emphasis would be placed throughout on awareness of the environment of the training program: of what was going on and how the trainees were reacting to it (and to one another). This was to be achieved through weekly small-group "evaluation sessions." The personnel of these core groups, including the leaders, would remain fairly constant throughout the program.

2. Evaluation

Unfortunately, no data was gathered on program effectiveness, in fact, the writers made a point of saying that no data collection efforts were made. About all that can be done then is to present a summary of the program. The Harrison-Hopkins model seems to have sound ideas that should be subjected to empirical research. Perhaps the fact that there is little data in the cross-cultural training literature as a whole forces people to accept the nonempirical but well-written Harrison-Hopkins article.

C. EFFECTIVENESS OF TECHNIQUES FOUND WITHIN LARGER PROGRAMS

The training programs reviewed previously are composed of several techniques, and these techniques have been studied by social psychologists interested in attitude change. Although these researchers have not always dealt with cross-cultural training, their findings are applicable to such instruction.

1. Guided Reading

Vassiliou et al. (1968) tested the intercultural attitudes of 62 Americans living in Greece after they read an essay about the Greek culture. Learning about Greece increased, but intercultural attitudes

did not improve. This finding does not surprise investigators who feel that more active effort than reading an essay is necessary for attitude change.

This study is particularly important for its military application. A common practice within the services is to give people books or pamphlets about other countries. The above study indicates that even if these are read, there may be no increase in favorable feelings toward members of that country. If the purpose is to convey content rather than feeling, guided reading (where there are assurances that the material is studied) seems useful. But if the purpose is to change feelings or attitudes, a more active procedure is necessary. The criticism applies less to programmed reading materials, such as the culture assimilator, which demand active participation.

2. Equal Status Contact Between Groups

Amir (1969) has reviewed a great deal of literature and has concluded that the following often-heard notion is true: Pleasant contact between ethnic groups, in an equal-status situation, increases favorable attitudes. The point to be remembered, however, is that the separate points in this principle must be in effect. That is, the contact must be pleasant and the groups must meet in an equal-status relation (one group, especially the majority group, cannot have more power or be able to receive more rewards than the other). Especially effective contact occurs when the members of the groups engage in interdependent activity to achieve a goal that is desired by all concerned (Sherif, 1958).

In a well-designed experimental work program, Cook (1970) provided highly prejudiced white subjects with pleasant and equal-status contact with a black co-worker. Whites viewed the interaction as part of their work (for which they were paid). After 20 days of such interaction (two hours a day), a large number of the white subjects had changed their attitudes.

The point has applicability to (1) cross-cultural programs which have foreign nationals as members of the training staff, and (2) programs which encourage contact with host nationals. Contact either within or outside training must take place under the proper circumstances.

3. Group Discussion

Lewin (1947) reviewed several studies showing changes in behavior that took place after group discussion. During World War II meat was scarce and officials thought that the shortage problem might be lessened if housewives would use more beef hearts, sweetbreads, and kidneys. Lewin and his associates set up an experiment in which some housewives participated in group discussion and some received a lecture about this desired change. A nutrition expert gave the lecture and was available for comment in the discussion group. Follow-up interviews at two- and four-week intervals showed that the housewives who had participated in the group discussions were serving more of the recommended foods than the housewives who had heard the lecture. Based on her own research, Bennet (1955) pointed out that the influential factors in the group discussion were probably (1) the housewives came to a decision, and (2) they perceived that others came to the same decision.

Coch and French (1948) studied worker productivity after a change had been made in the style of pajamas that their company produced. The women sewing machine operators were divided into three groups. One group was simply told of the change and told what to do. Another group elected representatives to help decide what would be done to effect the change. A third group participated totally, through discussion, in deciding the best way to go about making the necessary changes. Over 30 days, the total participation groups produced more units than the others. The participation-through-representation group produced more than the no-participation group. This latter group actually declined in production compared to their performance before the experiment started.

These results indicate that group discussion is a valuable technique and that it can be used in a wide variety of situations.

4. Role Playing

In this paper we have noted several times that the purpose of cross-cultural training is to induce long-range effects on Americans' behavior toward foreign nationals. The follow-up studies, however, have rarely studied behavior more than two to four weeks after an attitude change program. To determine the long-range effects of such techniques as role playing, the noncross-cultural literature must be studied.

Role-playing studies have been reviewed by Elms (1967). A noteworthy series of studies are those of Janis and Mann (1965), and Mann and Janis (1968). In the first study, heavy smokers role-played a cancer patient in a very emotional scenario. Another group of subjects listened to a role-play confrontation between a patient and doctor which had been taped. The 1968 study provided data on the subjects' smoking behavior 18 months after the experiment. The role-play subjects reported the least amount of smoking. The listen-to-tape group also had cut down, but not as much as role-players. A control group which had received no treatment did not change at all.

The role-playing technique was said to be effective because of its emotion-arousing nature. A role-play subject reported (also commenting on the Surgeon General's report linking smoking and health):

> "The (Surgeon General's) report did not have much effect on me. But I was in this other study. A professor was doing this psychological thing and I was one of the volunteers. And that was what really affected me.... He was the one that scared me, not the report.... I got to thinking, what if it were really true and I had to go home and tell everyone that I had cancer. And right then I decided I would not go through this again, and if there were any way of preventing it I would. And I stopped smoking. It was really the professor's study that made me quit." (1968, p. 342)

These studies have several direct applications to cross-cultural training for military personnel. Firstly, the Personal Response Program has, as one of its methods, a role-play situation in which one trainee acts in a scenario with an instructor, and a large audience watches. The role-playing often arouses emotion. According to the

Janis-Mann studies, both the role players and the audience should learn from this method.

Secondly, an unexpected finding of the Janis-Mann studies was that both role players and listeners were more receptive (in their behavior) to the recommendations of the Surgeon General's report, even if they did not admit it, than untreated control subjects. That is, the report had an effect on the role players and listeners, but not on people who had not had these experiences. Perhaps role playing in cross-cultural instruction can prepare trainees to be receptive to written materials, which they can then read under supervision. The role-play technique is currently being subjected to additional research, e.g., Greenwald, 1970.

5. Culture-general versus Culture-specific

A lively debate has centered around the issue of whether training should be culture-specific or culture-general. General training refers to topics such as self-awareness and sensitivity training that allow one to learn about himself as preparation for interaction in any culture. Specific training refers to information about a particular culture and guidelines for interaction with members of that culture. For instance, eating habits, religious customs, and decision-making styles unique to a specific country might be taught. Unfortunately, the debate has been confined to opinion and educated comment since there are so few known facts. Most agree, however, that some culture-general training is often necessary since most people, especially military personnel, are not assigned to a specific country until the last minute.

Proponents of culture-general training include Stewart, Danielian, and Foster (1969) who developed the Contrast-American technique for the Army's sponsored HumRRO research unit. They wrote:

> "... it is insight into one's own values and assumptions that permits the growth of a perspective which recognizes that differing sets of values and assumptions exist (i.e., cultural relativism), and development of the potential for greater understanding of another culture." (p. 7)

They then described their technique in which an American trainee role-plays with a person (the Contrast-American) who manifests the opposite values of the USA middle-class.

> "The cognitive confrontation brings one's own values and assumptions into question, making the trainee more aware of the cultural determinant in himself. Self-awareness, in turn, results in greater understanding and empathy with the values and assumptions of a member of another culture; continuing and reciprocal relationship, this increased understanding once again yields a deeper cultural self-awareness which increases other awareness infinitum." (p. 8)

Stewart et al. emphasized that this technique should only be a part of a training program.

The other point of view is that of Roth (1969) who questioned the utility of cultural-general training. He assumed:

> "It is not essential that members of multi-lateral forces be extremely affectionate toward each other--however, it is both important and necessary that rational cooperation occurs between them. Rational cooperation can take place between individuals who do not greatly admire or respect each other, just as close interpersonal relationships can give rise to very irrational and uncooperative behavior. It seems to us, then, that training programs must emphasize these rational bases for coordinating action." (p. 4)

He further commented on the notion that a six-week program (e.g., sensitivity training) can change attitudes. It should be noted that the actual cross-cultural programs to be reviewed often entail less training time than six weeks--sometimes only a few hours.

> "It may be unreasonable to expect to change a man's beliefs about another nationality in the period of six-weeks of pretraining, when his attitudes and beliefs have taken most of a lifetime to form. Therefore, although a research or training program interested in the deep-seated feelings of participants is praiseworthy, it appears to us that given the constraints within which training programs operate and the nature of the interaction settings which are characteristic of many cross-cultural contacts--such emphasis and concern seem unrealistic. To us, then, the basic aim of training for cross-cultural interaction should focus on the conscious and rational level with emphasis on skills and knowledge which can be taught within a relatively short period of time utilizing known and proven pedagogical techniques." (pp. 4-5)

In other words, specific methods (e.g., how to make decisions with members of country "X") for dealing with specific cultures may be much more valuable than cultural-general training.

Triandis (1969), who has participated in extensive research into cross-cultural training, wrote of his own experience, cautioning against generalizing from that one case:

> "In spite of (my) extensive cross-cultural training, I experienced a mild culture shock in Calcutta, India. The fact that I am fluent in several languages has only helped my adjustment in those cultures where these languages are used. Outside these cultures there is a sharp drop in comfort. The amount of discomfort is similar to what happens when I visit behind the Iron Curtain--the social system is different and there is too much about it that I do not understand, or like, so I feel uncomfortable....A person with much less cross-cultural experience might very well feel much more anxious." (p. 58)

Triandis then recommended specific cross-cultural training.

The writer's position is that of Roth and Triandis, but no reader should fully accept either the specific or general approach to training without more data on the question. The easy answer is to recommend some general and some specific training. Future research, however, may well show that one type is not valuable and that every minute of the all-too-short training time should be devoted to the other type.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

A. THE DEPENDENCE ON VERBAL MEASURES

In the previous summaries of both operational and experimental programs, criticisms were made of methods for evaluating programs effectiveness. In some programs, no evaluation has been made and in others the evaluation is overly dependent upon verbal or written reports of trainees. Sometimes the opinions of high-level observers are obtained. Little data have been gathered on trainees' actual behavior toward others, even though the purpose of training is to encourage favorable behavior which persists long after training.

In other words, nearly all cross-cultural training evaluation to date has depended on how much people say they like or understand others rather than how much favorable behavior they actually engage in. This dependence on verbal methods is especially distressing since many studies (recently reviewed by Wicker, 1969), point out that there is little or no relation between verbal attitudes and behavior,* especially with regard to racial or ethnic issues. The classic study is that of La Piere (1935) who travelled across the country with a Chinese couple. They were politely served in every hotel and restaurant they patronized. After the trip, La Piere wrote a letter to each hotel and restaurant manager asking them if they would serve Chinese people. The vast

*The lack of a direct relation between attitudes and behavior has concerned social psychologists for years. In discussing the issue, a distinction is made between "peripheral" and "central" attitudes. Examples of peripheral attitudes are feelings about a brand of soap or what aspects make a young girl attractive. Here there is a relation between expressed attitude and buying or dating behavior. With more central attitudes, such as feelings about people of other races or religious beliefs, the expressed attitude-behavior relation is much lower. One reason is that situational pressures, such as the behavior of peers and family, often override individual attitudes.

majority answered "no." What happened, then, was that people said they would not serve Chinese, but actually did when the opportunity arose.

The La Piere study, and others examining the verbal attitude-behavior relation, have been analyzed in sophisticated articles (e.g., Campbell, 1963; Wicker, 1969), and these are well worth reading. The purpose of mentioning the La Piere study in this report is to emphasize that training programs that show positive attitude change do not at the same time indicate that more favorable behaviors toward host nationals are occurring. It should also be remembered that personnel can easily put themselves in a socially desirable light and say that they like host nationals when they really do not.

Not a great deal has been written on behavioral evaluation. To begin the discussion, the reasons for the dependence on verbal measures should be discussed. Four explanations are put forth:

1. It is much, much easier and less expensive to measure verbal attitudes than to gather behavioral measures.
2. Program evaluators, when confronted with the challenge that their verbal measures are inadequate, fall into a defense pattern. They say, "You're not aware of the difficult field conditions under which data must be gathered."
3. So much verbal attitude data has been gathered in the past that researchers hardly ever think that it may be inadequate. Researcher's apparently think that if everyone does it, it must be O.K. Kiesler, Collins, and Miller (1969) make a similar point, also criticizing the dependence on verbal methods to the exclusion of behavioral measures.
4. Researchers depend on verbal measures because they always have in the past. If they adopted behavioral measures, they might admit that their previous work was inadequate.

B. SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVED EVALUATION

Since the purpose of cross-cultural training is to encourage favorable behavior of Americans toward host nationals, data on observed conduct, e.g., friendly acts such as visiting native homes, learning the language, unfriendly acts such as fights with natives, is required for effective evaluation of training programs. Recording this behavioral data may not be easy, since it must be done on a foreign site, at varying times after training, and in a systematic manner. Specifically, training evaluation can be improved if methods like the following are used:

1. Instead of asking trained and untrained Americans if they like host nationals, ask the host nationals if they like Americans. Such results should reflect the host nationals' contact with trained versus untrained troops. This is the approach made by Spector (1969).

2. Gather data using "estimates" of behavior, for instance, supervisor ratings (as cited by Fiedler et al., 1970). These ratings should not be supervisors' estimates of overall job effectiveness, but rather ratings of more specific behavior, such as, "How well does person get along with host nationals (as part of his job)?" As Stewart et al., 1969, point out, the overall rating may reflect many other job aspects than ability to interact effectively with others.

3. Where possible, gather behavioral data. This is the approach recommended here, and it will be dealt with in some detail.

It is not possible to recommend a behavioral measure for every situation. Rather, it is hoped that a spirit of inquiry can be communicated through suggestions and anecdotes.

1. Perhaps money could be collected for some worthy cause (e.g., War Widows in Korea or Vietnam) for the benefit of host nationals. The amount of money donated, or the number of men contributing at all, should reflect favorable or unfavorable

attitudes. After hearing this idea, one program administrator thought it workable, but urged that the collection not be for children. Americans have always liked children, and the true attitudes toward adult host nationals might not be reflected.

2. Analyze the number of requests to extend one's tour in the foreign country. Some requests would be due to other factors besides favorable attitudes, but it would be a valuable piece of data nevertheless.

3. Analyze the number of fights and other unfavorable incidents. Units that have received training should have fewer.

4. Analyze the number of off-duty (social) contacts between Americans and host nationals, or number of visits of host-national dignitaries to American bases.

5. Examine seating patterns in public places (e.g., restaurants). Determine if Americans and host nationals are sitting together. Brislin (1970) reviewed such indices and developed a new one.

6. Determine how many Americans, on their own initiative, learn some host-national language, volunteer for extra duty which helps the locals, or engage in other constructive incidents.

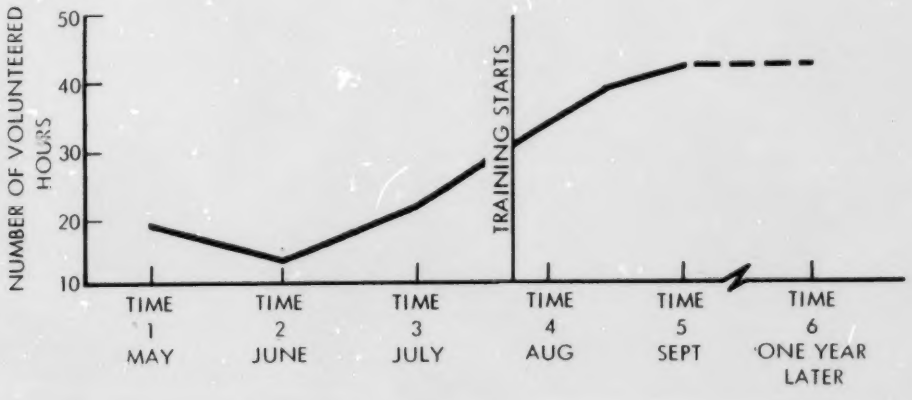
In all cases, more than one measure should be gathered. This allows for replication of results using different methods, always a desirable research goal. Where possible, evaluation should be done by people unassociated with the training program (which has rarely been the case).

The following examples will hopefully further convey the spirit of gathering behavioral measures

1. Peace Corpsmen were assigned as teachers of English, one to each of several villages in the Philippines. The administrator estimated program effectiveness by sampling the English learned by the village children.

2. To test the effectiveness of a training film recommending frequent bathing for personal cleanliness, researchers attempted to measure the amount of water used by trainees. The water meters of the barracks of trained and untrained groups were noted before and after the movies. This would have been an excellent test, but unfortunately, one faucet became stuck and emitted an unknown amount of water.

Oftentimes control groups are impossible when behavioral data are gathered. In such cases a time-series design, well described by D. Campbell (1969), can be employed. Behavioral events are gathered before and after training from the same people, at several points during each time period. Assume that the behavioral measure is the number of free hours volunteered for programs aimed at helping host nationals. A time series, with training starting on July 20, might look like this:



Of course, behavior would also be monitored long after training. Other explanations would also have to be considered, for example: Is there anything about the months of August and September that would encourage helpful behavior regardless of any training received?

To conclude this section, consider the following: A businessman wants to sell a cross-cultural training program to a company. The company president asks, "How do you know your training is any good?" The businessman replies: "A group of trained people said that they liked

host nationals while a group of untrained people said that they did not like host nationals. In addition, trained people were enthusiastic and some sent me letters telling me so." Will the company president invest money after hearing this evaluative data?

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RESEARCH ISSUES IN EVALUATING THE OBJECTIVES OF THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS WORKSHOP*

Paul Pedersen and David S. Hoopes

The Aims of Intercultural Education and Training

It is increasingly difficult to find a group which is not in some sense of the word intercultural, where the membership define themselves at least partially according to differentiated and culturally-determined viewpoints. The field of intercultural communication divides itself into three positions regarding the function of those cultural differences (Stewart, 1969). The first of these positions takes the typically exagerated view that cultural differences provide an obstacle to interaction. A second position maintains that cultural differences are indifferent factors overshadowed by technical or socio-economic determinants. A third position views cultural differences as human resources. The Intercultural Communications Workshop (ICW) is an attempt to utilize the resources of cultural differences through the controlled exchange of ideas and feelings in a small multicultural group. Unfortunately, to date little research and evaluation has been done on the ICW. It is the intent of this paper to examine the goals of the workshop, especially as related to and distinguished from cross-cultural training, and to describe some relevant research which might offer guidelines for persons wishing to undertake the basic but sorely needed task of determining whether ICWs actually attain their objectives or not.

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Research to evaluate purposive change in an Intercultural Communications Workshop assumes that the transfer of knowledge across cultural boundaries has certain intrinsic social value (Eide, 1970). There is the idea that more knowledge leads to more empathy, that more empathy will ultimately lead to more sympathy, and that more sympathy will finally lead to improved international relations. A second objective assumes that increased knowledge will stretch peoples' imagination with a net result of increased tolerance of other cultures, contributing to tension reduction. Another view holds that the diffusion of knowledge about other cultures will ultimately lead to a more homogeneous world, mixing the different cultures with one another. The objective of demonstrating how persons from different cultures are interdependent might contribute toward world peace. Learning about others also increases knowledge of oneself, contributing to the mutual understanding necessary to a plural society. Finally, it is postulated that the meeting of cultures and of minds will enhance the development of each. To say that culture exchange has an intrinsic social value is quite different however, from demonstrating that it fulfills its function.

The research evidence suggests that contact between members of different culture-groups may produce change in either a positive or a negative direction depending on the favorable or unfavorable conditions of contact (Amir, 1969). Among the conditions which tend to reduce prejudice are: (1) when group members are of equal status or when the contact is between members of a majority group and higher status members of a minority; (2) when the social climate promotes favorable interaction and the contact is intimate and pleasant rather than casual and unrewarding; and (3) when the members of both groups interact in functionally important activities developing superordinate goals. On the other hand, when contact is involuntary, produces

competition or results in frustration and scapegoating; when one group's prestige is lowered as a result of the contact; or when moral or ethical standards are violated, prejudice may be strengthened.

The ICW attempts to maximize the favorable conditions for intercultural contact. It also follows the general trend in cross-cultural training, beginning with the work of Harrison and Hopkins (1967), of emphasizing experience-based learning and cultural self-awareness as opposed to academic, cognitively oriented cross-cultural study, especially as embodied in area studies. Since then a number of trainers and researchers (DeCrow in his digest of training literature, 1969; Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis in their work on the Culture Assimilator, 1970; and Wight and Hammons in their Peace Corps training guidelines, 1970) have analyzed and defined the goals of experience-based cross-cultural training in some detail. The principal goals or effects sought in the trainee may be identified as follows:

1. An understanding of the process of human interaction
2. Independence, creativity, self-motivation
3. An understanding of critical cultural information relevant to effective action and problem-solving, especially in situations of cross-cultural conflict
4. An empathic awareness of values, attitudes and behaviors of the host culture
5. Hightened awareness of one's own values, assumptions and attitudes, especially relative to the expectations they produce upon entering a new culture
6. An ability to conceptualize, understand and accept the role to be played in the host culture

7. An understanding of what information or skills will be needed in problem-solving or being effective and an ability to use available resources to meet those needs.

The goals of intercultural communications workshops, as far as they have been defined, overlap those of cross-cultural training, but also vary significantly. It can be argued that the goals of an ICW are "learning" or educational goals more than they are "training" goals, though the distinction between education and training is not as clear as it might be.

While cultural awareness, or awareness of cultural differences in terms of values, customs and behaviors which affect human relations, is a principal aim of the workshop, it is also concerned with understanding the effects of these differences on intercultural communication and cross-cultural relations. But even beyond that the ICW aims to stimulate respect for and appreciation of cultural differences as valuable in themselves and as the starting point for communication rather than barriers thereto (Clarke, 1971)

The emphasis in the workshop is on acquiring sensitivity to one's own and to contrasting value systems and behavior patterns, understanding the dynamics of communication and human relations in a multi-cultural environment and developing skills in intercultural communication (Barndt, 1972; Hull, 1972; Silverthorne and Goldberg, 1972).

Researching ICW Objectives

Clearly the goals of the ICW, at least as stated in the literature to date, are rather sparse and somewhat fuzzy in nature. Some of the more researchable performance-related objectives of cross-cultural training are absent from the ICW as conceptualized and practiced. Nevertheless, as with any other educational endeavor, in order to know whether or not the stated objectives of an intercultural communications group has been achieved or

not, some form of evaluation is required. Too frequently the goals, once stated, are assumed to be operative in the program and are not subjected to research evaluation to see if they were actually accomplished. The evaluation is often subjective, based on the estimate of persons responsible for the group who describe outcomes in terms of "a good group" or "not a good group" by comparison with past experience and their own internalized criteria. There are exceptions. Some groups have been evaluated for purposive change according to pre-established objectives and have even documented change in a negative direction.

A cross-cultural group at Malcom Price Laboratory School (Brown, 1972) conducted a paper and pencil survey of students' opinions following an intensive Black-White human relations lab. While student responses indicated that race relations were not much improved, there was an increased level of awareness of how the two races differed culturally. The White students indicated that they better understood the attitudes and temperaments of Black students; likewise, Black students indicated a better understanding of attitudes and temperaments of White students.

In a study of the functional relationship between attitudes toward various aspects of a foreign culture and behavior involving interactions with persons indigenous to that culture, Gael (1966) concluded that such attitudes and behaviors may be related in a very complex manner. He further suggests that neutral attitudes are more beneficial to effective cross-cultural interactions than are favorable or unfavorable attitudes.

A study of the influence of international students upon American students in a sensitivity-group experience used Samson and Smith's World-mindedness Scale to measure the continuum from nationalmindedness

to worldmindedness. American students in groups with international students demonstrated significant change on the W-Scale toward worldmindedness and this change remained significant in a re-test five weeks later. Interview data supported the test evidence and suggested that the experience was also judged by the international students to be of value (Hull, 1970).

In a cross-cultural in-service training program related to dealing with Mexican-American students, a group of elementary school teachers evidenced change in a positive direction (Bary, 1970). Questionnaires, participant observation and semi-structured interviews were used for evaluation. The program appeared to increase teacher tolerance. A greater understanding of the way in which the school system removes the Mexican-American child from his culture raised the teachers' propensity to change her own approach to increase the in-class contribution of the Mexican-American students.

Research measures are generally limited to social adjustment or self-satisfaction. The ratings are typically derived either from ratings by others or self-ratings (participant perceptions). The self-report data are more readily available, resulting in a criterion group of persons who are either rated as interacting well with the target culture or who rate themselves as happy and satisfied. This raises numerous problems. The participant may report feelings different from his real feelings; he may report attitudes and values that contradict his actual behavior; he may feel differently from one measured situation to another; or he may be perceived differently by others.

It is useful, therefore, to mention other approaches that might be applied to evaluating purposive change. (1) Unobtrusive measures, such as the use of records on what the person buys, where he goes and what he does, or more general measures of environmental change might be effective

in researching intercultural communication. (2) Objective ratings of specific behavior rather than general overall adjustment would be more precise. (3) Even in self-reports an emphasis on specific behaviors would help narrow the focus. (4) Physiological measures indicating reactions might be used as an index of intercultural adjustment.

A Life Skills course (Conger, 1972) is being developed with significant measurable success for cross-cultural communications preparing groups to work with Canadian Indians. The course identifies 154 specific skills which are then dealt with separately in behaviorally defined lesson units. The more specific objectives lend themselves to research evaluation without inhibiting the spontaneity -- within the limits of the unit -- of cross-cultural interaction. These units include categories on self and interpersonal relations, family and home-life situation, leisure time, community agencies and community officials, job, work and training, and total life.

William Howell (1972) has suggested variables for research and training which would likewise lend themselves to measurement. These are (1) Kinesics -- purposeful movement; (2) Proxemics -- use of space; (3) Paralanguage -- vocal elements other than language; (4) Haptics -- communication by sense of touch; and (5) Nervantics -- fidget behavior.

Conclusion

The ICW model needs to be tightened in terms of specific objectives if we are ever to find out whether this model does indeed serve the purposes of intercultural communications training. Many of the objectives and criteria of ICW groups are fuzzy and do not lend themselves to evaluation much less research. New criteria are required to describe those variables in an ICW which contribute to purposive change effects. This effort will require either the adaptation of existing methodology for small group

research or the innovation of some [redacted] methodology of measurement. It is important to know what makes a good ICW "good" and what makes a bad ICW "bad."

The goals of research cannot be allowed to overshadow the more spontaneous, humanistic elements of an ICW, however. To measure an effect can easily mean to prescribe and structure the interaction in such a way that the groups are unable or unwilling to interact with one another in an open manner. What are the critical variables in measuring training for intercultural communication in a small group setting? There is a need for greater concensus on purposive objectives for intercultural communication and a more specific understanding of how those objectives can, first, be achieved and, second, be evaluated in the context of an ICW.

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RESEARCHING THE CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS WORKSHOP*

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*often called the Intercultural Communications Workshop

This article was originally intended to be a carefully researched guide to researchers interested in the field of cross-cultural communications. Simultaneously, it hoped to make a contribution to those members of NAFSA and related constituents who conduct Intercultural Communications Workshops, so that their results and other variables of communication could be researched and evaluated for the benefit of others. The more we researched the field, the more it became obvious that this article would have to limit itself to a few observations and random thoughts about research in these workshops.

Part of the difficulty is that cross-cultural communication is not, as yet, an identifiable discipline of its own; thus, it shares a limited place within many other social and behavioral fields. Contrary to common, popular assumption, there is actually a great deal of research already available; but it is scattered throughout many disciplines, in bits and pieces. It may be extremely helpful if, instead of suggesting new research now, we concentrate on assessing critically and analytically what has already been done in order to first produce a workable, critical and annotated bibliography. Such a publication could contribute to future research, stimulate new hypotheses and assess cross-cultural methodology.[1]

Although we often talk of the "field" of cross-cultural communications, we may not realize that related research exists in several fields. Let us ennumerate these disciplines in order to give our readers a visual impression of the magnitude of the concerns and problems: speech and communications, of course; mass communications and journalism; psychology, including counseling, industrial psychology, learning, perception, psychology of language and the

newly emerging cross-cultural clinical psychology; psychiatry; social psychology; education and educational psychology; sociology; political science and behavior; industrial relations; social work; anthropology; international relations; and, of course, area studies and linguistics. Each one of these fields has its own frame of reference, research methodology, body of knowledge, reference materials, journals, graduate programs and professional ethics. It is impossible for practitioners or researchers to be knowledgeable in all of these fields, but we often borrow from them their basic assumptions and practices. Unfortunately, we tend to borrow indiscriminately from several, without the necessary integration and "fit."

A cursory examination of some of this literature reveals that scholars of cross-cultural communications, no matter what their disciplinary homes may be, are extremely humble about the extent of conclusive research and knowledge and progress toward theory. They call attention to the vast methodological, practical, organizational and financial problems which make them feel grateful for what little there is, regardless of soundness. They are, therefore, very tolerant of errors and gaps in the literature but call urgently for more research on all levels. This writer wishes to subscribe to all these three propositions. First, let us discover what has already been accomplished, let us be tolerant rather than critical of the misses and gaps and by all means let us conduct or help others to do more research. In the Intercultural Communications Workshops we have an ideal vehicle to give us answers to many questions which are now being asked.

Problems of Evaluation

Many of us are extremely insecure about what we are doing and uncertain whether we are achieving the objectives of these programs or to what extent.

We have not encouraged any important steps designed to begin getting answers to these questions. There are several reasons for this, and we shall return to them. At this time we should like to comment on the only "evaluations" available. They suggest that our main concern has been with the degree of satisfaction which participants indicated they had with their experiences. Methodologically this is unsound and misleading. We make certain assumptions about the workshops, such as: they are a form of human relations training; they lead to removal of cultural barriers of communication; they contribute to changes of attitudes and, thus, to changes of behavior; etc. Then we proceed to ignore these objectives and conclude that participants had meaningful and satisfying experiences. The only legitimate evaluative research of a program is one which evaluates it by the degree to which its own objectives are achieved. To study the degree of satisfaction with an experience, if that is a stated objective, is also legitimate; but then the tools of such research must be carefully designed and tested. In industrial relations, for example, it matters whether employees are reasonably satisfied with working conditions because that degree of satisfaction correlates with other variables, such as production, decrease of labor-related tensions, etc. To use such a tool validly, we would have to test the correlates of satisfaction with others as yet unresearched. If we do not, we open ourselves to criticism that we sponsor programs for people to enjoy themselves -- and sponsors usually do not grant funds for such objectives.

What are the Objectives of ICW's

If we were to evaluate the workings of ICW's, we would have to articulate their objectives more clearly. After several years of operation, we are as ambiguous now as we were before. Are the ICW's really methods of human

relations training? The literature from that field, collected now for some ten years in both experimental and field settings and in a very sophisticated way, is inconclusive and humble about results of various methods of such human relations training; and that is in areas in domestic programs in which one can assume a greater homogeneity than in the cross-cultural area. Do we really expect changes of attitude and behavior to result from participation? In one weekend? How does learning of "new" insights become integrated with the old ones? And how do both transfer to daily needs of human relations and to the job situation or to leadership positions? When we recruit for participation, are the participants joining in order to realize these objectives as stated?

With more sophisticated research in cross-cultural communications, we may have a simpler task and fewer embarrassing questions to answer. For example, we might be satisfied to set up one main objective for the ICW's -- to learn how people from different cultures communicate together with respect to various situations: intellectual, interpersonal, task-oriented or ideological, to cite only a few examples. The main methods of such research could be participant observation, videotaping associated with factorial analysis, or before and after questionnaires. The group dynamics, if our orientation was in social psychology, could be evaluated through adaptation of available instruments followed with in-depth interviews. This would give us better insights about functioning of groups in general, motivations for joining or not joining, satisfaction with group processes, group products, flow of communications and other variables. Once we had such perspective, we could search for cross-cultural dimensions of these group dynamics. A variation on this kind of research might be to find several groups, each composed of members of just one nationality, e.g., Americans, Indians, Chinese, etc., and observe the same processes and group dynamics separately and later jointly.

What are Cross-Cultural Variables of Communication

If we use research data to refine and sharpen existing objectives for the ICW's, we may be able to establish a more meaningful framework for the identification of cross-cultural variables of communications. These barriers, which we claim we are removing in order for communications to flow, are presently unsystematic and unrelated to other variables. For example, when is shyness a cultural variable, as opposed to being a psychological variable, or what relationship may one have to the next? Similarly, we have not attempted to define the term "cross-cultural." In many disciplines it simply means an application of existing knowledge to another culture. If it works, such knowledge is general and culturally validated. If it does not work, it is either that the cultural barrier is in the way or else the knowledge itself is invalid. Such tests often treat "cultures" as homogeneous units of analysis, comparing one with the next and so on. Thus, we can get lost in a maze of multicultures which would take more than computers and generations of well-funded researchers to validate.

Some of our more demanding foreign and American students, confused about what "cultural barriers" we are trying to remove, are seeking more systematic ways of understanding those culturally determined variables of communications. They seek to go beyond their first experiences in the workshop, and research can again provide some of these answers. One cultural system, especially suitable for cross-cultural comparisons and loaded with implications for communications, is the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck scheme of cultural universals.[2] These anthropologists suggested that cultural variables exist in all cultures, even though unevenly distributed, and that these are determined by more or less common problems which exist in all cultures and for which all people are seeking solutions. While there are "dominant" values in most cultures, other

"varient" values are also present. For example, fatalism as a cultural value of the varient variety, may exist in the United States; but the dominant value of this universal category of values may be the ability to control elements of nature. On the other hand, let us assume in some Oriental country that fatalism may be a dominant value, while some people may be oriented toward the varient value of control over nature. We may, thus, have in an ICW two American students and two Korean students, with one of each being a fatalist and the other two believing in control over nature. The cross-cultural variables are not, in this case, what we often assume to be the difference between the American and the Korean cultures, but between the basic value orientations. The theoretical scheme suggested here is easy to apply to questionnaire-type research or to other types of methodology, including observation, experimental research on groups given various tasks to perform or factorial analysis of conversations and communications. Tendency toward fatalism is, indeed, a strong variable in communications because it is often responsible for termination of the communications process or for the failure of such process to even begin.

Another such culturally determined tendency is found in the area of values. To simplify the analytical scheme, it has to do with the personality orientation. In communications we often have problems with the so-called "spontaneous" personalities as compared to "achieving" personalities, both of which are differentially oriented with respect to use of time, formation of purposes, and acceptance of external judgements and evaluations. In fact, this "spontaneous personality" creates special problems of research as well.

To Research or not to Research

What implication does the "spontaneous personality" have for research? We have generally relied on voluntary participation in ICW's and have believed

that only those motivated to join would benefit. We have not analyzed the composition of those who do volunteer in comparison with those who do not. It may be a plausible hypothesis to suggest that our present recruitment procedures, unless they are completely open and widely advertised, attract principally those whose value orientation is toward the interpersonal experiences, toward the satisfaction of the need for affiliation and toward the "spontaneous personality" who is not concerned with the need to evaluate this experience if it appears to be of sufficient intrinsic value by itself. In a recent conference at which the purposes of ICW's were being explained, one member of the panel expressed this point of view, essentially in opposition to researching ICW's. He explained a beautiful communication experience which he had with his wife one day after a rush of schedules and, to stress how meaningful the experience was in itself, he added: "After four hours of our just talking about everything, I did not give my wife a questionnaire." The audience applauded in agreement, without realizing that their reactions were as culturally determined as the opposition to research was for the speaker and as our orientation is in favor of research. How to explain doing research on ICW's is a methodological problem similar to that of how we explain to prospective students that they should participate in them. Research is, of course, not needed if we are not concerned with improvements, practical application or basic knowledge.

This writer would be very suspicious of anybody who would feel satisfied. Understanding these processes may facilitate not only a successful marriage but also an academic career, resolution of international conflict or social welfare programs helping the poor.

Learning Cross-Culturally

One of the stated objectives of the ICW's is to become vehicles for human relations training of the cross-cultural kind. Here is an area in which we need more research than others, because the nature of learning, its transfer to other situations and its integration with previous learning are some of the most difficult intellectual, methodological and pedagogical tasks. We all know from practical experience that some American participants may become more prejudiced toward foreign students than they were before joining and vice-versa. We also know of examples in which foreign students, suddenly aware of their leadership and social service talents, have involved themselves with campus and community service programs, only to become discouraged with those who have "not seen the light" as they have and to return to fatalism, elitism and resignation. These examples are indicative of other cultural barriers to communication which have to do with time orientation and change. For example, little learning may result because of a tendency toward harmonious relationships; or because a cultural tendency may be at work toward group concensus and against differences; or because the students may be experiencing too much "culture shock" to be ready for new learning. To understand these learning processes, we should first have a great deal more of descriptive research on what actually goes on in the ICW's. In addition to observation, we could profitably conduct follow-up interviews with participants, especially designed to study their thinking and learning processes, e.g., how they perceive differences, how they reason out points of view, what method of logic or reasoning they use and what influenced them to change their views or opinions. For example, how much of the explanation of one's own cultural background is made through cause-and-effect causation, as compared to analogies or analysis? What kinds of units are a part of such causation, analogies or analyses? Does

influence mean acceptance, immitation, partial acceptance with reservations, or cultural synthesis? Answers to these questions are, in effect, answers to problems of how people learn; whether the new learning is transferable to new situations and, if so, under which conditions; also very importantly, how change occurs. Here, in addition to the cultural variables, others may be used as methods for research, e.g., cognitive dissonance, longitudinal studies, or the application of the "U" curve theory of adjustment.

Time may be a variable in more ways than one. Orientation toward time is one of the culturally determined values, but we may be concerned here with a period of time during which new ideas internalize, especially in the field of human relations. Some of the research in T-groups and other forms of human relations training have suggested that they may not lead directly to the adjustment of attitudes needed in the situation for which the person was being trained in the T-group to begin with. However, with proper reinforcements in subsequent experiences, the human relations experience may have become the catalyst for new attitudes, behavior and insights. Dealing with foreign students in the ICW's pauses a special ethical problem, however. Some of our studies suggest, for example, that certain cultural backgrounds do not encourage students to respond to and be motivated by programs in which the verbal insight is the goal. The Chinese student study at Madison[3] suggested strongly that Chinese students tend to view the world as basically dangerous outside of one's primary social group. Thus, crossing of the culture gap through intercultural contacts creates conflicts and anxieties which one would avoid by simply avoiding these experiences.

These pre-existing frames of reference have an important bearing on the establishment of functional trust and confidence. This has become the primary task for our ICW's, but we have as yet no evidence whether such trust, if

we do succeed in creating it within the groups, also transfers to other situations. The basic ethical problem is one suggested by research involving T-groups and other human relations training devices. Some studies suggest that the best results will be obtained in groups in which the selection of participants can be manipulated in such a way as to produce conflicts. While we often insist that the T-group psychology does not apply to ICW's, precisely because of the problems of handling conflicts, we have not realistically faced the possibility that cultural conflicts, caused by such anxieties as those described here, may be as important to ICW's as psychological conflicts are to the T-groups. The study of cultural conflicts is an important research problem for us, because they deal realistically with the culture-and-value conflicts we all recognize from our daily activities, but do not handle well when it comes to the recruitment of students for these workshops.

Groups and Leadership

One of the troublesome problems of the ICW's is the role of the leaders, much as the T-group proponents are concerned with the roles of the trainers. Research is urgently needed into this problem because the role of leadership is now a point of controversy for those who feel that there is too much dependence on "good" leaders which, in turn, localize learning to that group only and does not permit the transfer of learning to other situations. An important study is forthcoming on the effect of various styles of leadership on the ICW's. It will also identify other variables of success, especially time, nature of groups.

Robert Moran at the University of Minnesota is in the process of completing his Ph.D. dissertation in which he is applying methods of group dynamics, observation, empirical testing, and factor analysis to the results of three ICW's in which the main variable was the style of leadership. Such research,

with reasonable control groups, will provide meaningful insights into the understanding of leadership in these groups and also into the nature of groups for which leadership is itself a variable. Social psychologists suggest that the style of leadership in different groups may be too difficult to study because the groups, if different, have a psychological personality of their own. The leadership processes are, however, the results of interactions between leaders and followers, with the followers usually exhibiting widely the leadership qualities and potential. Additional research into the leadership potential of participants may yield even greater results, especially if such research attempts to collect data on performance of leadership in other countries. In the Philippines, for example, this writer had an opportunity to study a form of leadership-exercise valued highly by traditional farmers as well as by the future-oriented, progressive student leaders, known as Pakikisama. This concept combines a public relations expert with a manipulator who gets things done for people but seldom overdone, as too much pakikisama would be culturally and psychologically unacceptable, aggressive and insincere. Some Philippine scholars have placed this concept on the borderline between ability to exercise leadership in groups and "voluntary coercion."

Students of cross-cultural communications should not think of the ICW's as the only ground on which to conduct research into communications. It is strongly suggested that the exclusion of real situations in which people communicate cross-culturally would seriously skew the results of such research on the methodological grounds that we have a self-selected audience without valid control groups. Several studies have already been conducted which attempt to examine cross-cultural relations, with communications implications. One study, for example, attempted to study groups of married students in University married student housing. The main research method was the well-known

theory of cognitive dissonance, applied to cross-cultural situations. Much communications research deals with primary tensions in groups, one-sided versus two-sided communications, symbolic or non-verbal communications and is easily applicable to some real situations in which American and foreign students live, work, or organize together. Semi-experimental situations could also be created, in which cross-culturally trained leaders should be encouraged to compete for leadership positions in open elections for existing intercultural campus groups. One such experimental situation might be, for example, to encourage such students to run on platforms which, if implemented, would introduce cross-cultural communications into task groups.

Small World Problem

One of the most interesting social science experiments which this writer has seen recently, and which is easily applicable to problems of cross-cultural communications, has been suggested by Stanley Milgram[4] and called the "small world problems." In summary, the experiment was an attempt to learn how people in this country could be linked to each other. Originally, a mathematical problem of integrative potential, this researcher wondered what chances there were that two Americans anywhere in this country were linked together through interpersonal relationships based on personal knowledge. He theorized and proved that people are indeed linked through personal acquaintances, and that the number of such acquaintances is relatively small -- much smaller than common sense guesses indicate. This study also assessed the process through which these linkages were established. The channels of transmission, when results were in, indicated that they followed simple residential or occupational domains. If applied to inter-relationships between foreign and American students, foreigners and Americans generally, or foreigners and Americans

with each other anywhere in the world, we may get important information on geographical movements and on the possibility that there will be discovered cultural intermediaries. They are people who can cross the cultural gap, who resemble the "third culture" concept, who are, in short, the potential cross-cultural communications brokers.[5] Such discovery may be very important to our better understanding of the processes of cross-cultural communications. While the basic hypothesis of the "small world problems" study was to discover what links people anywhere, there is a contrasting view which holds that, given any two people in the world, they may never be linked together "because people have circles of acquaintances which will not necessarily intersect. A message will circulate in a particular cluster of acquaintances, but may never be able to make the jump to another cluster..."

Final Research Thought

Doing actual research is only part of the story. The other parts are to develop some form of research mentality, a healthy scepticism with which we are prepared to submit things we do and value highly to the scrutiny of research methods of our own or performed by others. It is also a willingness to consider things tentatively and to be able to change them, if change is suggested. In addition, a research mentality would enable us to keep better records of what we are doing, so that others can use these for future research. For the many variables with which we deal in our programs and for the great stakes these programs represent, it is hard to believe that we could do anything less than to look for more and better answers. In fact, if we think that what we are doing is good enough and so right that others do not have any business to evaluate, that righteousness may, itself, be culturally determined and should be studied as part of cross-cultural dynamics and communications.

Footnotes

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5. John and Ruth Useem and John Donahue, "Men in the Middle of the Third Culture : The Role of American and non-Eastern People in Cross-Cultural Administration," in Human Organization, Vol 22, No 3, pp 169-79

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